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NAMIBIA

Everybody who was anybody went to Windhoek for Namibian Independence Day. Mandela and de Klerk, Baker and Shevardnadze, Arafat and Qaddafi: The swirl of Savile Row suits and kaffiyehs, power ties and flowing robes gave the celebration the look of a rowdy night at the intergalactic cafe in *Star Wars*. But there was a point to the party. The protracted and intricate settlement that gave freedom to Namibia could be both the prelude and the prototype for a similar agreement on South Africa, and everybody wants a part in that play.

Now that Mandela has been sprung, the main interest of the United States, and its European allies, is to secure the prevailing economic order in South Africa against pressures from the African National Congress to nationalize industries, redistribute land and socialize the system. U.S. corporations and transnationals are itching to re-enter the profitable South African market. Baker hopes that political desegregation, American style, will create the conditions for re-entry. Black faces will be substituted for white in government, servants will be encouraged to become consumers and, as Eliot Janeway recently wrote, "the U.S. [will be] set to supply the explosive expansion ahead in South Africa."

In the post-cold war world, the A.N.C. has diminished power to enforce its historic demands for economic justice and electoral democracy. A combination of insurgency in the townships of South Africa and political agitation around the world, led by American blacks, helped bring about a partial banking boycott and some divestment and convinced the transnationals that apartheid would have to go before their profit picture could improve. There's no comparable movement outside South Africa now to secure the fruits of freedom for the victims of apartheid. That struggle has just begun.

LIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS
Mike Wallace

CENSORSHIP HOWL
Allen Ginsberg

GLOBAL GAY BASHING
Darrell Yates Rist

RIFT ON THE RIGHT
David Corn

THE POLITICS OF FOOD
Joan Jacobs Brumberg

PROPHETIC PRAGMATISM
K. Anthony Appiah

REVOLUTION OF '89

EUROPE AFTER THE GREAT THAW

ARNO J. MAYER

In one major respect Europe is back to where it was between 1944 and 1947. During those bleak but hopeful years, which saw the incubation and rebirth of the cold war—first conceived and born in 1917-21—the primary discord between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union was over the future status of Poland and Germany within Europe's uncertain security system. Both then and now Russia was weak. But after the defeat of the Axis, Moscow, no matter how weak, not to say prostrate, it may have been, would not risk the reconstitution of a Poland that might again become a gateway for an attack on the Soviet Union, Germany having invaded Russia via Poland twice within a quarter of a century. Nor would Moscow risk the reconstitution of a united and rearmed Germany that might once more, and before too long, become a clear and present danger for Eastern Europe and Russia. But the Western Allies remained unwilling to recognize the Soviet Union as a great power with legitimate security concerns even after it had contributed disproportionately to the defeat of the Nazi colossus.

It is hard to believe that today, forty-five years later, top U.S. officials should actually declare that a reunified Germany would have to be part of the Atlantic alliance. For it is no exaggeration to say that U.S., British and Polish leaders still have to answer to history for their failure, after 1944, to meet the Russians halfway, which they might have done by proposing to negotiate the neutralization or demilitarization of either Germany or a strategic

(*Continued on Page 486*)

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LETTERS.

'COWARDLY ANONYMITY'

Baltimore

While skimming over less recent copies of *The Nation* I encountered your editorial "Believer Beware" [Nov. 27, 1989]. Thanks for lumping every Christian cleric with Jim Bakker. Thanks for howling with the law-and-order mob for heavy jail time. How does ten years serve Bakker, or us?

Beyond its mainstream leanings, the piece was outstanding for stupidity and cowardly anonymity. Who is this "friend of ours"? Why not identify him? Why protect such an ignoramus and bigot?

Many of us Christians are more informed about the church's sins than he is. Many of us learned our politics by resisting the church's sellout and state betrayal. Hierarchs sniff and savor power even as your "friend" does, hiding behind his namelessness and his superficial, vicious pen.

His words cost him nothing and give him no authority. We never encountered him in a jail cell for resisting the military orgies of the United States, or its deadly habits of waste—of people as well as things. We never saw him beaten by the police as we have been beaten. He knows nothing of Christians serving seventeen years in a federal dumpster for disarming first-strike weapons, nor of other friends, all Christians, many of them clerics, murdered and debrained by Washington's Salvadoran thugs.

I am a Catholic priest, albeit married, and my scores of arrests, five-and-a-half-year imprisonment (more to come) and scars from the police hardly argue for "fraud" or for promises of a "couch in heaven." No less so for my brother, Daniel, or my wife, Elizabeth McAlister. Rather, our efforts appeal for strict social justice as a foundation for peace.

Perhaps you'll have the integrity to do two things: Identify your "friend," and apologize to your Christian readers for editorial irresponsibility. *Philip Berrigan*

Our friend sent us a private letter, which is why we did not use his name. His sentiment—that there is much hypocrisy that goes on in the name of religion—seemed a useful context in which to consider the plight of the Bakkers. —*The Editors*

LET IT BLEED

Back from vacation, I was eager to dive into back issues of *The Nation*. First up was Earl Shorris's article, "The Priest Who Loves Gangsters" [Dec. 18, 1989]. I got a bit wary when Shorris mistakenly placed the Aliso-Pico neighborhood east of the river—it falls at least a mile or two west, not east, of the Los Angeles River. Then Shorris went into a long section of quotes from the "gangsters." Léon Bing did the same bit in the *L.A. Weekly* and *Harper's* with her "exposés" of the black gangs of south-central L.A.—cultural vampirism disguised as journalism, armchair intellectuals sniffing up folkloric colloquialisms.

Next Shorris told us the Los Angeles Police Department is racist and violent. This was really gritty reporting, akin to revealing that Ronald Reagan is a liar or Joseph Stalin was a maniac. Hardly news. Last, Shorris couldn't help but reveal his liberal heart, bleeding all over the page. He urged us to embrace these vulnerable kids who are hassled by the big, bad, ugly cops. Right; if only the cops were gone, TMC and the Mob Crew would be handing out lollipops on street corners. This is the kind of musty-headed logic that has kept Americans laughing at the left for years. Police brutality and the manifold injustices of our economic system won't be solved by teary-eyed imitations of Upton Sinclair. *Rob Sullivan*

SHORRIS REPLIES

El Paso

Had Rob Sullivan been Christopher Columbus's navigator there would have been Latino gangs in Bombay or Hong Kong instead of Los Angeles. Aliso-Pico is indeed east of the river. TMC and The Mob Crew are not two gangs but one; TMC are its initials.

Harper's published an edited transcript of a round-table discussion among members of a black gang. There was no mention of criminal acts by police against children in that piece or in any of the other articles or network television programs about Los Angeles gangs. Police brutality in Los Angeles is not a common story, at least not in the opinion of Mike Castro, executive director of the California Chicano News Media Association, who featured the piece about Father Boyle and TMC on the cover of the C.C.N.M.A. magazine, *El Sol*.

Writing, even when it doesn't suit Sullivan's tastes, can have an effect on police behavior. I was informed last week that the Internal Affairs Division of the Los Angeles Police Department is looking into the situation in Aliso-Pico.

It is no crime to be a careless reader of magazines or maps. It is unconscionable, however, to think that brutal attacks on children will make good citizens of them or that the press should stop reporting such acts when they become commonplace. To follow Sullivan's line of reasoning would be to accept evil simply because it is banal, which, as Hannah Arendt explained, is a moral error.

Although the term "cultural vampirism" is a bit foggy, the thrust of Sullivan's accusation is clear. He implies that I went to Los Angeles as a stranger to write about people as mere objects. He is correct in part: Los Angeles is not my home. I didn't grow up there but in El Paso. When I was a boy, we lived on the edge of the downtown section in a neighborhood of Mexican-Americans who, like my family, were having a hard time economically.

I've been reminiscing with friends about the neighborhood lately, talking about the lack of heat in the old adobe houses, trading memories of kids who fought with knives or razors; how frightening it was to see someone suddenly cut open. A professor who lived in the neighborhood as a child said her parents encouraged her to stay in school and work hard by telling her that their family didn't really belong there, because they were of another class. It wasn't true, of course; in El Paso you could pinpoint a person's economic class by his or her address.

Although we didn't have formal gangs, by the time I was in the fifth grade two of the boys in my class had been to reform school. One of them was rotten, a nasty kid; the other was my pal Luis. He never spoke in class, but he was reading Victor Hugo in a Spanish translation given to him by an uncle from Chihuahua. Luis, who carried a knife hidden in his shirt, didn't finish grade school. I don't know what happened to him; there were rumors about another arrest, a ruined life.

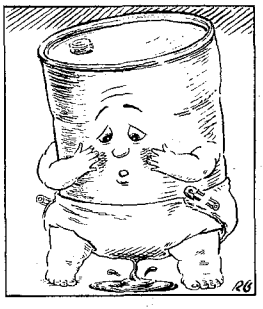
I saw Luis and the other kids from the neighborhood in the faces of the kids in TMC. Neither they nor their circumstances are foreign to me. I know the squawk they make when they're hurt. I know how they respond to the heel of authority. I even know how they feel when they put on a shirt and tie and go to juvenile court.

When I look into the mirror of my own history, I see that the kids of Aliso-Pico are human, and I am hopeful; as Greg Boyle says, with some understanding from adults and the possibility of a decent job, they can be salvaged. When I read Sullivan's letter, I see despair, which is incorrigible. *Earl Shorris*

PICTURE PERFECT

Durham, N.C.

Robert Grossman's cartoon for "Portrait of an Oil Spill" by Robert Engler [March 5] may miss the point: When a real baby soils its pants, it feels no guilt or remorse. Expressing that truth on the oil drum's "face" would have depicted the *actual* way oil companies react to their spills. *A. Oviatt-Lawrence*



GROSSMAN REPLIES

New York City

Gosh, I guess I got it wrong. I feel so ashamed. *Robert Grossman*

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EDITORIALS.

Dm *Über Alles*

One hundred years ago to the day, so Willy Brandt told the dispirited Social Democrats on the evening of March 18, Bismarck had been forced from the German chancellorship. He had failed to solve the question of the Social Democrats; others would suffer his fate. A feeble cheer greeted Brandt's words of reassurance, but the facts are bleak. The conservative Alliance for Germany, backed heavily by West German money, won 48 percent of the vote in the German Democratic Republic's first free elections. It was in effect a referendum on instant reunification, with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl presenting himself as a second, if rather more jovial, Bismarck. The Social Democrats ran very far behind, at just 22 percent, and were routed in their traditional heartland of Saxony and Thuringia. The reformed Communists, now the Party of Democratic Socialism, took 16 percent.

Revulsion at forty-five years of police socialism and the promise of a golden future under the West German mark moved the electorate to see Kohl as a fatherly dispenser of largesse. Anxieties about unemployment, the loss of social benefits and intolerable increases in the price of food and rent all worked against the parties that favored a slower pace of reunification. Apparently, large numbers of East Ger-

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mans have no sense of pride in their recent revolution and no solidarity among themselves. Indeed, they gave less than 3 percent of the vote to the intellectuals who had defied the state and begun the revolution—when those who later cheered Kohl were diligently keeping their mouths shut. The fact that the G.D.R.'s Christian Democrats had been allied with the Communists did not prevent Kohl from denouncing the Social Democrats as Reds. The Europe-wide disgust with socialism has now devastated the Continent's strongest social democratic party, and Kohl can look forward to the December election in West Germany with confidence.

Alliance for Germany: The name evokes the anthem-singing, flag-waving nationalism that historically has turned civilized Germans into savages. Yet the right-wing landslide probably had more to do with economic calculation than with chauvinism, and Kohl now faces the impossible task of rapidly raising living standards in the East. Inevitably, the process of reunification will intensify social conflict in both parts of Germany. A recent poll suggests that, despite their votes, a majority of East Germans favor a demilitarized and neutral Germany. For all their bitter defeat, then, the Social Democrats have themes for a resurgence, and the reformed Communist Party, although an embarrassment today, is a potential future ally—as well as a reservoir of voters. Any resurgence, however, depends on an alternative vision of society—precisely what all the Western socialist parties now lack.

Kohl's domestic strength will increase distrust of him abroad. François Mitterrand has already effected a rapprochement with the West German Social Democrats, whose candidate for Chancellor, Oskar Lafontaine, was cheered to the rafters by the French Socialists at their congress a day before the East German election. At the international conference on Germany, France and the Soviet Union will surely form a strong alliance; Kohl can expect support only from an inexperienced U.S. team, assembled with astonishing casualness by Secretary of State James Baker. Within the Kohl government, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher will play his usual autonomous internationalist role. The boundaries between domestic and international politics, then, have all but disappeared in a Germany that once again stands at the center of modern history.

Wm. A. Williams

When William Appleman Williams was wounded in action in 1945, he was sent to the naval air base at Corpus Christi, Texas, to recuperate. There he worked with the local N.A.A.C.P.; inside the base he and some friends sought to integrate the flight line. They made powerful enemies, and Williams was beaten up more than once. But he kept at it, sustained by a credo he had absorbed at the Naval Academy: Don't let the bastards grind you down.

A successful Navy career, however, seemed increasingly unlikely. His next assignment, he was informed, would be to lead an amphibious assault on Bikini—after the landing beaches had been softened up with an atomic bomb. Williams decided instead to become a historian; surely, one would think, a softer berth. But after getting a Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin, he began producing scholarship that won him a new set of enemies. In 1952 Williams's *American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947* challenged the historical reasoning that underlay George Kennan's containment policy. In 1959 an even more sweeping study, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, argued that the United States was an imperial power and had been since the turn of the century. Our expansionism had taken a different form from the European approach of carving up the planet into closed colonies. We favored equal access to markets, believing that our superior resources would guarantee victory.

Those books broke with traditional diplomatic history, but Williams had ruffled more than academic feathers. *Tragedy* assaulted myths undergirding America's postwar foreign policy. For that and other sins—e.g., his civil rights work and his association with journals like *Monthly Review*, *Studies on the Left* and *The Nation*—the House Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed Williams repeatedly during 1960 and 1961. HUAC also demanded to see the manuscript of a book in progress, an unprecedented request. Williams refused and the committee backed off, although it turned his name in to the Internal Revenue Service, which worked him over for the next fifteen years.

In *The Contours of American History* (1961) and later books Williams traced the roots of America's expansionary impulse back to the winning of the West. Imposing its culture on subjugated Indian nations, it developed a conviction that the world should conform to its model. Those propositions fueled an emerging antiwar movement. Williams's work provided grounds for contesting official definitions of the Vietnam War as a selfless defense of freedom against Communist aggression and for rejecting narrower dissents that considered the war an aberration.

In the 1960s and 1970s Williams and like-minded colleagues expanded the critique of American policy in Vietnam into an attack on official representations of the origins of the cold war. Revisionists denied that U.S. actions constituted merely an innocent defense against an evil and expanding empire. In varying degrees, the critics suggested American complicity in creating postwar tensions and argued that the United States sought global hegemony. An academic counterattack followed, which spilled into the popular press. The revisionists were redbaited; opponents called Williams a "procommunist scholar." But against the backdrop of popular and academic disaffection with the war, the revisionists made considerable headway.

Williams, meanwhile, had moved on. In *Empire as a Way of Life* (1980), he admitted that expansionism had brought material and psychological comforts to Americans. But imperial growth had also underwritten an overweening nation-state, run, as was the Soviet Union, by military and civilian bureaucracies that eroded democracy. Americans, Williams wrote, should consider breaking up their nation-state into a confederation of decentralized regional communities. He himself had moved to such a community, leaving the University of Wisconsin to settle on the Oregon coast.

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In 1980 Williams was elected president of the Organization of American Historians. The same year brought another President to power, one who set out to resurrect pre-Williams approaches to the history of American foreign policy and who called the Vietnam War a "noble cause." In one of his last scholarly interventions Williams, together with his former students Lloyd Gardner, Walter LaFeber and Thomas McCormick, joined those contesting this re-mythification process. In 1985 they brought out *America in Vietnam: A Documentary History*, a compendium of facts and perspectives for the rising generation.

To the end, which came on March 5 at the age of 68, William Appleman Williams remained cantankerous, inspirational, resolutely unfashionable. He never did let the bastards grind him down. MIKE WALLACE

Mike Wallace, an editor of Radical History Review, *teaches history at John Jay College.*

Censorship Howl

Poet Allen Ginsberg's statement excerpted below is a public comment on new F.C.C. rules, under a law introduced by Senator Jesse Helms, banning "indecent" material from the airwaves twenty-four hours a day.

Much of my poetry is specifically aimed to rouse the sense of liberty of thought and political social expression of that thought in young adolescents. That is the very age group that the Heritage Foundation, Senator Jesse Helms's legislation and F.C.C. regulations have attempted to prohibit me from reaching with vocal communication of my texts over the air. It is in the body, speech and mind of these young people that the state of our nation rests, and I believe I am conducting spiritual war for liberation of their souls from the mass homogenization of greedy materialistic commerce and emotional desensitization. Since Walt Whitman, who foresaw this situation, many generations have suffered alienation of feeling and sympathy with their own bodies and hearts and with the bodies and hearts of all those in America and other continents that do not fit into a commercially or politically stereotyped convention of color, sex, religion, political allegiance or sense of self. . . .

A major characteristic of my poetry, at least for its wide circulation, has been its quality of American speech, idiomatic and vernacular, a diction drawn from living language and clarity of vocalization. My ideal is a poetry of majestic and dignified proclamation. I've tried to practice unobstructed human voice with its various rhythms, emotional tones, spoken and vocalized poetry; reading out loud has been my study and my art. This practice has affected many poets in many countries and is part of a long American tradition from the day of Whitman through William Carlos Williams to the lyricist Bob Dylan. Proposed F.C.C. censorship could forbid my spoken broadcast of *Howl* (a critique of nuclear hypertechnology), "King of May" (a denunciation of both "communist and capitalist assholes"), "Sunflower Sutra" (panegyric to individual self-empowerment), "America" (a parody of cold war stereotypes), "Birdbrain!" (a satire on Eastern and Western ecological stupidities) and "Kaddish" (a pouring forth of real grief and love for my late mother). How can this speech be censored from broadcast without violating our Constitution?

Censors may fulminate all they wish over the word "indecency," which is never precisely defined, but those who want to extend the Helms amendment to ban this mystific "indecency" on the air twenty-four hours a day cannot deny they are trying to censor art and socially relevant speech. In the case of the texts specified above, the position of neoconservatives is quite parallel to that of Nazi book-burners of "degenerate works," Chinese dictators who launch attacks on "spiritual pollution" and old Stalinists forbidding erotic texts. The purpose of such censorship is to concentrate all emotional authority in the state and eliminate all ideological and emotional competition. Conservatives proclaim their ideology to be "get the government off our backs." I petition these so-called neoconservative authoritarians to get off my back.

Walt Whitman called specifically for candor for poets and orators to follow him. Despite the unconstitutional bans that have been put on my poetry, I repeat that call and affirm that I have fulfilled the good gray poet's prescription for a patriotic, candid, totally American art. ALLEN GINSBERG

Abortion Cutoff

For six years, as population pressures fueled poverty and despair, millions of women in developing countries have been held hostage to U.S. abortion politics. Yet the international dimensions of U.S. policy have been largely absent from the domestic abortion debate.

The first World Population Conference, held in 1974, led to an international consensus, strongly supported by the United States, on the link between poverty and overpopulation. In the ensuing decade, government and private family-planning programs provided health care and contraceptive advice to millions of women around the world. However, at the second conference, held in Mexico City in 1984, the United States reversed its position, arguing that population growth was a "neutral phenomenon" and that a free-market economy was the solution. In an election-year concession to powerful U.S. antiabortion forces, the so-called Mexico City Policy blocked U.S. assistance to any private foreign clinic that provides abortion services—counseling, referral or education. Actually, no recipient country has ever used U.S. grants to fund abortions. But under the Mexico City Policy any private clinic that turns to alternative funding sources or directs its clients to a government agency faces a cutoff of U.S. aid.

In countries such as Turkey, Bangladesh and India, where overpopulation crises spurred the legalization of abortion, local organizations have been defunded for failure to com-

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Meet the Volks

Watching the results of the East German elections and all those Christian Democrats braying in triumph, I was reminded of Trotsky's assessment, in May 1940, of the consequences of a German victory over Britain and France in the war (Hitler's march on Moscow was still thirteen months away). The Soviet Union would find itself hemmed in by a German-dominated Europe and a Japanese-dominated Asia. Trotsky then added phlegmatically, "If contrary to all probabilities the October Revolution fails during the course of the present war or immediately thereafter to find its continuation in any of the advanced countries; and if, on the contrary, the proletariat is thrown back everywhere and on all fronts—then we should doubtless have to pose the question of revising our conception of the present epoch and its driving forces."

In other words, back to the drawing boards, comrades. But I cheered up when fuller results came through, suggesting that all the claims that a unified Germany could have a "natural" Social Democratic majority might not be entirely wide of the mark. The left did well in the cities. In East Berlin, right next to the capitalist showcase, the Social Democrats polled 35 percent, the Communists 30 percent and the New Forum alliance 6 percent. It was the turnip-snaggers outside the cities who mostly went for the Christian Democratic alliance. Saxons—what can you expect?

Signposts to the Third Way

A member of New Forum complained to *The New York Times*, "Of course, we in the New Forum are frustrated when the population rushes with colors flying from the dictatorship of the party to a dictatorship of the Deutsche mark."

What lessons is history about to teach intellectuals in other parts of Middle Europe? Adam Michnik tells an interviewer in the latest issue of *New Left Review* that among "the whole bag of labels and stereotypes" is the "great perennial conflict between capitalism and socialism." As a riposte he offers this: "I am convinced that all the great ideologies of the past should be abandoned to the past." Vaclav Havel took a similar stand in an interview in *Rude Pravo* on December 2, 1989: "I do not adhere to any ideology, doctrine or ready-made world view defined by someone else. . . . I am simply on the side of truth against lies, on the side of meaning against nonsense, on the side of justice against injustice, and on the side of order against disorder." Later in the same interview Havel said that the issue is not ownership but rather the prosperity of the overall economy, since "a prosperous economy can then insure social services to everyone."

Now, Michnik's Poland abstained when the United Nations voted last December to condemn the U.S. embargo of Nicaragua, which we can take either as evidence of a determination to reject any stereotypic view of the United States as bloat nation grinding its opponent into the dust, or conversely as acceptance of the stereotypic behavior (servile, uncritical) of a small nation hoping to get large sums of money from the bloat nation mentioned above.

It's a pity that Havel did not linger in the United States after his address to Congress, the better to test his hope that a prosperous economy can insure social services to all. A pile of newspapers and a pair of scissors would have sufficed. A study by the Census Bureau made public on March 18 compared the well-being of American children with those in Europe, Japan, Canada, the Soviet Union and Australia. The United States and Australia had the highest child poverty rates in the group (17 percent for each), and both countries had the highest poverty rates for families with children (15 percent in the United States and 14 percent in Australia).

Michnik and Havel aren't the first people from Eastern Europe to expound their hopes that history might have more than one pair of options up its sleeve. In 1946 quite a number of people thought there could be differing roads to socialism. In a famous, calculated indiscretion Stalin said as much to Harold Laski, member of a British Labor Party delegation visiting Moscow. Klement Gottwald, Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, reported to his comrades on the Central Committee a similar exchange with Stalin, in which the latter said that dictatorship of the proletariat was not the only way forward to the shining city.

Later that year Gottwald publicly said the same sort of thing, as did Dimitrov in Bulgaria. Gomulka announced, "We have chosen a Polish path of development of our own, a road of people's democracy, and we think that under these conditions, along this road, the dictatorship of the working class, and still more of a single party, would be neither useful nor necessary." From France and Italy, Thorez and Togliatti spoke of "new paths."

Many Western historians outside the revisionist school have denounced all this as concerted trickery to distract attention from the Stalinist master plan. More sensibly, in his *Stalin and the European Communists* the Italian labor historian Paolo Spriano says that though there was obviously a propagandist element, "these overtures genuinely corresponded to each country's and each leadership group's need for autonomy, to the desire of the Communist leaders to experiment with gradual evolution without losing the required political allies." Spriano quotes Josef Belda, in a passage that would probably interest Havel:

> Some Czechoslovak historiography is of the opinion that after the nationalizations of October 1945, when an economic model was created based on various sectors (small private production, middle-sized private entrepreneurial activity, and large-scale nationalized industry, including the mines, energy sources, banks, insurance companies, etc.), and when the two-year plan was hinged on the active participation of all these sectors, the preconditions existed for the continuation of pluralism in the political domain as well. Had favorable international circumstances prevailed, a new model of socialism could have gradually arisen, significantly different from the Stalin model.

In early 1947 the Hungarian economist Eugene Varga was writing about "democracy of a new type" in Eastern Europe. It was over before it began to breathe, for 1947 was the pivot

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

year, in which the full outlines of the cold war came into focus. Already in 1946, U.S. Secretary of State Jimmy Byrnes had told the Russians that if they wanted reparations from Germany they would have to take them out of their zone, which they did, East Germany thus being the only part of the former Reich to yield damages. By January the Soviet Union was braced for siege and battening down the hatches, starting with the fixed Polish elections that sent the Peasant Party leader Mikolajczyk, who probably should have won, into exile. By March, Truman was promulgating the doctrine of "containment" and a month later commencing security vetting of government employees. By June, special measures were enacted in the Soviet Union against those revealing "state secrets." That same month came the Marshall Plan.

Both the Polish and Czechoslovak governments yearned to receive U.S. aid under the Marshall Plan but bowed to Soviet pressure to reject it. As Spriano writes, once all hope of collaboration with America had collapsed, Stalin faced a choice: "He felt that if he was to avoid acknowledging U.S. international hegemony, he had to accept the risk of global conflict." More than forty years later Gorbachev accepts U.S. international hegemony, and Czechoslovak and Polish leaders make the trips to Washington and to the bankers, urging a Marshall Plan and speaking sometimes, depending on their audiences, about a new path.

Footnotes to the Foregoing

§ Among the statistics Havel might have pondered in the course of his study of the relationship between prosperity and ownership are the ones on the rise in black infant mortality and low birthweight. In a February 3 *Los Angeles Times* story I mentioned here a few weeks ago the reporter, Janny Scott, apparently encountered insuperable difficulty in finding anyone who would state the obvious: that babies die or are underweight when they are born into desperate poverty, into families cursed with poor shelter and inadequate food. Scott quoted Jennifer Howse of the March of Dimes as saying that "the most important thing is to get prenatal care."

About this statement the epidemiologist Sam Epstein said to me, "Ever since polio the March of Dimes has been in search of a mission, and is now trying to get onto the bandwagon of the increase in infant deaths. It emphasizes prenatal care. This is Band-Aid stuff. What difference is prenatal care going to make for people with low rates of nutrition and poor housing? They need decent homes, food and jobs to break their poverty. To say that prenatal care is the solution is naïve nonsense."

§ Now that the Solidarity government is crucifying the working class on the altar of capitalist orthodoxy, Michnik, in the words of his interviewer in *New Left Review*, John Keane, emphasizes that Solidarity "must recognize that citizens have problems distinct from those of workers or consumers, and that the task of democratizing the state and civil society cannot be resolved into the struggle for economic democracy." Thus does the "socialist democracy" of class dictatorship surrender to the equally tyrannical "democracy of national purpose." Is this the signpost to the Third Way, or just a trope of capitalism resurging?

For Western reporters "democratization" and market economics are indivisible. In Washington, Havel spoke of the primacy of subjectivity over the material world. He should study the U.S. press, where freedom is rated in terms of hamburger sales, whether in the Moscow McDonald's or in fast-food joints in Warsaw. In the L.A. *Times* for March 18, Charles Powers had an admiring narrative about Mikolaj Miszczak (Hamburger Mike), an entrepreneur on his way to becoming a millionaire before age 30. After ecstatic review of Mike's commercial trajectory, Powers announced that "now, for the first time in modern memory, . . . the markets are full of meat. Furniture stores are full of furniture. The lines at gasoline pumps have vanished." The fact that those well-stocked stores are largely the result of "real-world realities" (Powers's phrase) such as unemployment, which the World Bank estimates could hit 1.7 million workers, and Western-level prices, which keep goods from being within reach of every shopper, put only a temporary break on the reporter's enthusiasm. True, there is now "a more evident gap between the haves and have-nots" (another "real-world reality"), and true, "it is not likely that the failure of a factory employing 1,000 workers will be offset by Hamburger Mike's scheme to open a new hamburger palace"—"on the other hand, perhaps, it's a start. Certainly it's in keeping with the new spirit."

§ "Containment" was the doctrine urged most emphatically by George Kennan in his renowned 1946 telegram from Moscow. Forty years later Kennan said he was sorry if some overhasty wording, a misjudged phrase or two, might have helped launch the cold war. Now he is held in high repute in liberal circles and often contrasted benignly with the less oleaginous figure of Paul Nitze.

Kennan's self-rehab has been one of the wonders of our age, and amazingly successful. As is usual in such cases, his proclaimed decency increased in exact proportion to his sequestration from power. Not conspicuous in his memoirs are such important aspects of his service to the state as his salvaging of war criminals for U.S. purposes, or such documents as his wartime memo apropos future de-Nazification. It is quoted in Christopher Simpson's extraordinary 1988 book, *Blowback*, on America's recruitment of Nazis:

> "Whether we like it or not," the diplomat wrote, "nine tenths of what is strong, able and respected in Germany has been poured into those very categories which we have in mind" for purging from the German government—namely, those who had been "more than nominal members of the Nazi Party." Rather than remove "the present ruling class of Germany," as he put it, it would be better to "hold it [that class] strictly to its task and teach it the lessons we wish it to learn."

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ Dirty Air

"The Democrats should just get it over with and change their name to the Republican Party." So griped one reader recently. I don't remember what outrage prompted him to call, but the comment could relate to most of what the Democrats have touched lately. Take the recent pirouettes in the Senate, choreographed by majority leader George Mitchell, concerning the clean air bill and campaign finance reform legislation.

Last year George Bush introduced a clean air package, covering acid rain, smog, tailpipe emissions and alternative fuels. The best you could say for it was that in most cases it was better than nothing. Senate Democrats took the lead in proposing a version with tougher provisions that sailed through the Environment and Public Works Committee on a 15-to-1 vote. Enter Judge Mitchell.

After Congress came back into session this year, Mitchell declared that the Senate bill faced too much opposition—from Bush, from Senate Republicans and from some in his own party—to survive a filibuster. He then convened closed-door negotiations where lawmakers hunkered together with White House aides and gutted the Senate bill. Auto tailpipe emission standards were lowered. Some provisions on airborne toxins and smog ended up weaker than current law. The smog-filled-room "compromise" would even permit businesses to remove people, not pollution, from some despoiled areas, thus creating toxic dead zones.

Mitchell "told the environmental groups, 'I don't have the votes,' " says David Hamilton of the U.S. Public Interest Research Group. "But he let everyone hide behind the secret negotiations and remain in the closet. We contended that if the process had been in the open we would have gotten the votes." Why not produce a strong bill and then let the Republicans try to block it or Bush veto it? That's not Mitchell's way. He allowed senators to have their cake and eat it: publicly they could vote for a supposedly pro-environment bill while privately they could cater to industry. Senator Carl Levin, a liberal Michigan Democrat facing a tough re-election campaign, feverishly lobbied his colleagues to give Detroit a break. Mitchell accommodated his friend, just as he helped Bush, who can also proclaim his love of clean air without having to make hard choices. The only loser is that special-interest group cut out of the loop: people who breathe.

■ Dirty Money

Mitchell has performed the same dance with campaign finance reform. Three years ago the Senate nearly passed a major bill, sponsored by Democrat David Boren, that included tight spending ceilings and public financing of Senate races. A Republican filibuster killed it. That was before the Charles Keating Jr. scandal. Before the Jim Wright scandal. Before the Tony Coelho scandal. Before the Alfonse D'Amato scandal. Money and politics was not hot.

A year of headlines about Capitol Hill sleaze should have set the stage for another charge on this front. Boren returned with another reform package, less sweeping but still one that would set strict spending limits and provide federal funding to candidates whose opponent exceeds the expenditure ceiling. It also curtails the amount of money a candidate could accept from political action committees and curbs the use of soft money—funds given to political parties that are used for activities that affect Congressional races.

Rather than take full advantage of the atmosphere for reform, Mitchell joined with minority leader Robert Dole in appointing that old standby, a bipartisan panel of experts. The B.P.O.E. has issued recommendations calling for "flexible spending limits" that are "reasonably high," a leaky ceiling on PAC contributions and minimum restraints on soft money. Excluded from the spending limits would be donations from individuals in the candidate's state. And well-off candidates could still pump their own millions into their campaigns. Some Democrats are expected to push for a package that goes further than the proposals of Boren and the B.P.O.E., but Mitchell, by creating conditions for another squishy "compromise," has undercut those fighting for clean politics.

■ Shout It Out

It is a sad commentary that the spunkiest Democratic Party leader of late has been Representative Richard Gephardt, the House majority leader. During his presidential campaign in 1988 he preached a roughneck version of economic populism, while corporate lobbyists who appreciated his previous toils in their behalf flocked to his crusade. But Gephardt is the party leader most willing to swipe at Bush. In his much-publicized speech attacking Bush's go-slow foreign policy, Gephardt chided the President for proposing all sorts of unnecessary military expenditures, including a new Army base in Italy, that will cost more than the total amount of savings from all the proposed base closings at home. He slammed Bush for reducing funds for Unicef emergency aid to children and the U.N. Environmental Program. He also has joined with Citizens for Tax Justice in releasing a study on the effect of the 1977 and 1981 tax cuts upon the equity of the tax system. The study reports that the top 1 percent of the population pays 36 percent less in taxes now than in 1976, while 90 percent pay more. A family in the bottom fifth pays 21 percent more. Restoring the tax structure that existed before the cuts would reduce taxes for 90 percent of families and add about $70 billion in annual revenue.

The group's proposals are straightforward: Overhaul the tax rules that allow multinationals drastic decreases in their tax liability, boost the corporate minimum tax rate, tighten loopholes that still exist and raise the rate on the super-rich from 28 percent to 38 percent. A fair tax system that will help close the deficit; clean air; clean politics—what unique ideas. If the Democrats can't sell such a platform to the American public, then more than a name change is in order.

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Theology (Part I)

EDWARD SOREL

Q: WHEN DID THE WORLD BEGIN?

A: THE GREATEST MINDS IN THE CHURCH TRIED TO SETTLE THIS POINT BUT IT WAS DR. JOHN LIGHTFOOT, THE 17TH CENTURY HEBREW SCHOLAR, WHO FINALLY CAME UP WITH THE ANSWER. FROM HIS STUDY OF SCRIPTURE HE DETERMINED THAT "HEAVEN AND EARTH, CENTRE AND CIRCUMFERENCE, WERE CREATED TOGETHER" AND THAT IT "TOOK PLACE AND WAS CREATED BY THE TRINITY ON OCTOBER 23, 4004 B.C. AT NINE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING."

Q: WHY WAS JOAN OF ARC BURNED AT THE STAKE?

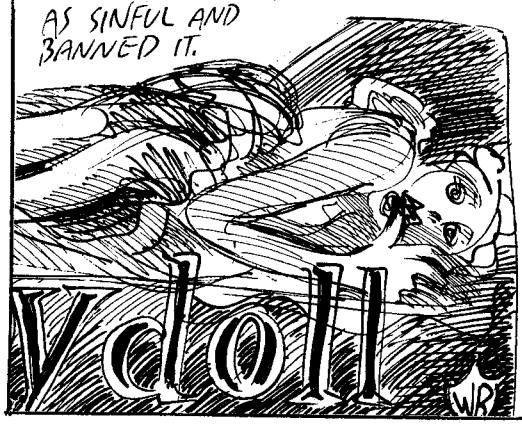
A: THE INQUISITION BROUGHT MANY CHARGES AGAINST JOAN AND FOUND HER GUILTY OF ALL. HER SENTENCE WAS REDUCED TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT ON BREAD AND WATER AFTER SHE SUBMITTED TO THE PENANCE OF THE COURT. IT WAS ONLY AFTER SHE WAS SEEN WEARING MEN'S GARB (ONE OF THE CHARGES AGAINST HER) THAT THE JUDGES DECIDED THEY HAD BEEN TOO LENIENT. ESSENTIALLY, SHE WAS EXECUTED FOR CROSS-DRESSING.

Q: WHY DO MEN HAVE ONE LESS RIB THAN WOMEN DO?

A. THEY REALLY DON'T, BUT SINCE THE BIBLE SAYS THAT GOD MADE EVE FROM ONE OF ADAM'S RIBS, IT BECAME DOGMA THAT MEN WERE MINUS ONE. WHEN THE ANATOMIST VESALIUS PROVED THIS WAS NOT THE CASE, THE ECCLESIASTICS EXILED HIM.

Q. WHY WERE CATHOLICS FORBIDDEN TO SEE "BABY DOLL"?

A: ALTHOUGH ELIA KAZAN'S 1956 FILM HAD NO NUDITY, NO RAPE SCENE, AND NO PROFANITY, IT DID HAVE A TENNESSEE WILLIAMS PLOT THAT INVOLVED A MARRIED COUPLE WHO HAD NEVER HAD SEXUAL RELATIONS. OBVIOUSLY, THERE WOULD BE NO CHILDREN FROM THIS UNION. THE LEGION OF DECENCY REGARDED THIS AS SINFUL AND BANNED IT.



Q: WHAT IS LIGHTNING?

A: TERTULLIAN HELD THAT LIGHTNING WAS HELL FIRE, BUT LATER THEOLOGIANS SAID THUNDERBOLTS WERE "THE FINGERS OF GOD" WHICH STRUCK THE WICKED AND UNORTHODOX. THE DISCOVERY THAT LIGHTNING RODS ALTERED THE DIRECTION OF THUNDERBOLTS WAS DEEMED BY THE CHURCH TO BE INTERFERENCE WITH GOD'S WILL. RODS WERE BANNED IN MANY COUNTRIES UNTIL THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY.

Q WHEN DOES LIFE BEGIN?

A. THE OLD-FASHIONED NOTION THAT LIFE BEGINS AT BIRTH IS NO LONGER ACCEPTED. SOME THEOLOGIANS SAY IT BEGINS AT THE MOMENT OF CONCEPTION, BUT A GROWING BODY OF OPINION BELIEVES THAT LIFE BEGINS AS SOON AS THAT DAMN THING GOES OFF!!

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ARTICLES.

GLOBAL GAY BASHING

Homosexuals and Human Rights

DARRELL YATES RIST

Andy Rooney was rightly returned to his pulpit at CBS. No public figure should be canned for speaking stupidly and offensively. More harm is done to civil liberties by censorship than by violent, ignorant statements of the kind Rooney is alleged to have made about blacks and which he undeniably made about "homosexuals." (And it helps not at all that homosexuality is fantasized to be a self-contained category of desire, with homosexuals deemed a separate people.) Fascism always achieves its ends: Rooney's suspension from *60 Minutes* (under the lofty guise of the network's intolerance of intolerance) turned his vulgar comments into a popularity contest—there was a sewer surge of support for America's favorite crank. The truth or falsity of his spiteful thoughts lies buried, unexamined. Again, the debate over sex and race (how predictably!) gets perverted. So does the fundamental argument over the moral responsibility of free speech.

But let's get perfectly clear about this. To the extent that Rooney's fleeting suspension symbolically assailed bigotry at all—and of course, such noble impulses do get mixed up somewhere in the brew—it had absolutely nothing to do with the dangerous ignorance he voices regarding homosexuality. He said in an untaped interview with *The Advocate* that blacks have "watered-down their genes because the less intelligent ones are the ones that have the most children. They drop out of school early, do drugs, and get pregnant." Those statements felled him from his perch even before the magazine hit the stands. But his virulence against homosexual affection, proclaimed on network television two months before, provoked no public condemnation from CBS or anyone else, except for some gay activists, until his views on race presented themselves as problematic.

"Many of the ills that kill us are self-induced," Rooney claimed on his TV special, "A Year With Andy Rooney," in December, promiscuously tossing "homosexual unions" in with gluttony, drug abuse and cigarette smoking. And so he joined a little-challenged, spiteful chorus—Senator Jesse Helms, Representative William Dannemeyer, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger and his Pope—who blame homosexual victims of AIDS for their own death.

There have been too many wanton analogies made recently in the fight against AIDS and for gay rights: Ed Koch and John Cardinal O'Connor (or anyone who disagrees with some activists) have been portrayed as Hitlers, and AIDS has been depicted as another Vietnam or Holocaust. So I would shrink from being so reckless as to call Rooney a murderer. But unanswered publicly expressed ideas like his are the very kind, in fact, that nurture lethal intolerance and feed the epidemic violence against the homosexually identified, who are hated quite enough without being reviled as self-destructive. Rooney and the media's executors might understand the distinction between hateful speech and violent actions. Less careful persons on the street hold no such scruples. Rooney's sentiments spew from the same unnatural revulsion that made it easy for two young men to hunt down and kill John Zappalorti on Staten Island in January just because they thought of him as a worthless queer.

But even the slaying of Zappalorti—who was gruesomely battered, as is common in antihomosexual assaults, which are often orgiastic in character—provoked only perfunctory public dismay and utterly failed to electrify the social conscience as did, say, the racist violence in Howard Beach four years ago. Bigotry against homosexual men and women never incites broad public outrage, regardless of the grotesque form the hatred takes.

Nor is the terror isolated or occasional. Much to the contrary, it is global and persistent; in a recently reported Chinese "cure" for homosexuality, herbal emetics or doses of electric shock are administered to the homoerotically interested to alter their urges. Gao Caiqin, a practitioner of this torture, insists that she is saving her patients from misery, and perhaps suicide, and that those treated are tearfully grateful.

Manipulating sexual desire, of course, is a universal tool of political control, and no one should be surprised that a barbarous state would use it barbarously. (During the Third Reich lewd eye contact with a member of the same sex was sufficient to get one sentenced to a concentration camp.) Nor should anyone be surprised that the homosexually desirous might voluntarily seek out therapies like Gao's, as she attests all her patients do. Culturally instilled self-loathing and the threat of brutal punishment might drive the sturdiest of souls to undergo the agony of a "cure," however perverse and useless. (Actually, there is a broad consensus among psychiatrists in the West that, short of lobotomy or death, neither homosexual nor heterosexual desire—both of which are ubiquitous, lurking in all of us—can be prevented. Nor should they be.)

On any week a quick glance at gay and lesbian publications will uncover a burdensome number of international reports of pogroms against men and women perceived to be homosexual. European protests last fall against antihomosexual violence by police in Buenos Aires inflamed an Argentine "reign of terror," according to the gay press in the United States and England—a campaign of bloody raids against gay bars and other meeting places. A February communiqué from Comunidad Homosexual Argentina reports that 400 men and women were arrested in police attacks in December.

Darrell Yates Rist is the author of Heartlands: A Gay Man's Odyssey Across America, *to be published by E.P. Dutton next year. He is co-founder of the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation.*

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"Persons are forced to undress, threatened with guns, verbally abused, given nothing to eat and little to drink, exposed to mockery, insults, humiliation and even sexual assault," wrote the C.H.A. Gay activists in Colombia and Peru, some in hiding, live under the threat of death by goon squads. A Liberian gay group, founded in 1988 by a Peace Corps volunteer, reports assaults by security police and militia as well as "imprisonment merely for being homosexual."

The American news media, anguished by resurfacing anti-Semitism in the newly liberated Eastern bloc, are callously quiet about police-condoned antihomosexual attacks in Hungary and Romania. Journalists have been all but mute on the extermination of homoeroticists in the Middle East. On New Year's Day Iran announced a "final solution" for homosexuality under Islamic law. Three men were publicly beheaded in Nahavand, and two women were stoned to death in Langrood.

What is continually amazing is not so much the existence of such state-sanctioned antihomosexual cruelty—we've grown used to it, of course, in varying degrees in the United States—but the cravenness even among international human rights monitors, both within governments and in the private sector, in answering it. The imputation of homosexuality amounts to an internationally recognized just cause for violent assault on personal dignity and freedom.

For a dozen years the State Department, under Congressional mandate, has issued tens of thousands of pages of annual reports systematically examining global performance in areas such as "freedom from torture or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment" as well as the "flagrant denial of the rights to life, liberty, and the security of person." The 1989 report (the last officially released) punctiliously cites invasions of personal liberty such as China's attempt to regulate family size and Iran's arrests of women who use makeup or who refuse to cover their bodies entirely, as prescribed by Islam. On terrorism directed against the homosexually identified, however, the State Department has maintained an absolute silence.

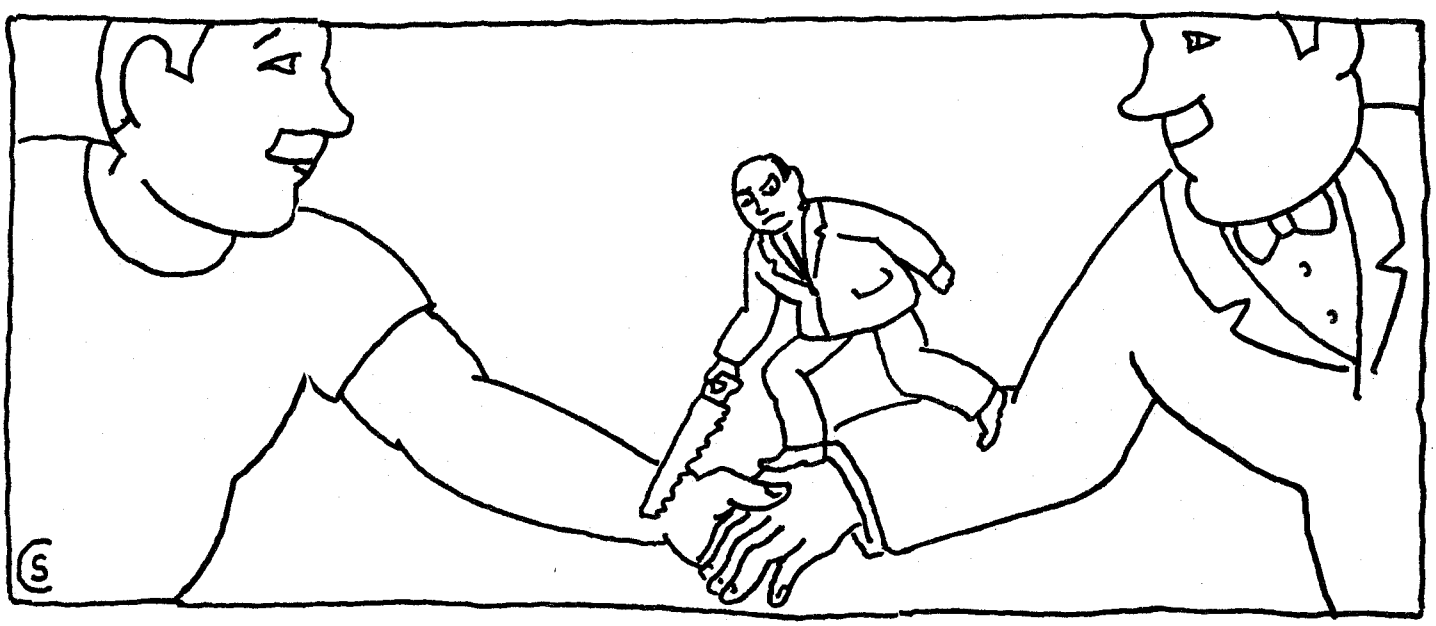
As a staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee aptly put it, "This is a dog that is not barking." The State Department excuses itself this way: Such abuses do not violate "universally accepted human rights," specifically those evoked in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Groups like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International similarly justify their dogged refusal to defend people whose rights are abrogated on account of engaging in—or simply *wishing* to engage in—consensual homosexual acts. Curt Goering, deputy executive director of Amnesty International USA, explains that in pursuing its purposes his organization limits itself to the U.N. standard "so as not to impose its own morality on the world. To what extent is this issue grounded in international norms?" he asks.

For more than a decade, Amnesty has rejected every proposal to change its definition of "prisoner of conscience" to include the actively homosexual. Goering concedes that even sympathetic U.S. and Western European members are reluctant to disrupt organizational consensus by offending the morality of some Latin American, Middle Eastern and African members. While Amnesty would certainly take up the case of anyone imprisoned specifically for gay activism, as a legitimate issue of free speech, it would ignore the imprisonment of a man or woman solely for engaging in sex with a long-term lover—as long as the jailing were "humane." (This is the very hypocrisy that keeps Amnesty quiet on imprisonments in the United States under state sodomy laws, madly upheld by the Supreme Court in 1986 with an appeal to, among other authorities, Roman law, which required, like Iran's moral code, the death sentence.) Nor will international religious organizations that monitor human rights, like the World Council of Churches, go near the issue.

All of these conscientious bureaucracies, including the State Department, privately voice uneasy good will toward the victims when instances of antihomosexual brutality are presented to them. The collective record, however, remains a conscienceless blank.

Freedom in this matter of consensual sexual touch and association is almost universally a nonissue. Still, it boggles



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the mind to conceive a right more fundamental to our humanness than the choice of whom we will love. What is undeniable is this: Until the silence ends, tyrannous states and societies, with the aid of propagandists like Andy Rooney and his collaborative censors at CBS, will exercise ever more control over the pleasures of our bodies and the romantic impulses of our souls. They will offer renegades, of all kinds, a "cure." That cure failing, they will turn to harassment or murder to create conformity. Ultimately, few of us are not at risk. □

RIFT ON THE RIGHT

Life Without The Red Menace

DAVID CORN

Communism may be dead, but anti-Communism is alive and kicking—at least, within certain conservative circles. But since some on the right are willing to let go of the Red Menace, a split has been growing within the movement, as was demonstrated at the recent three-day Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Washington.

On the second morning an angry Howard Phillips took the microphone in the Regency Ballroom of the posh Omni Shoreham Hotel. "Our leaders are intoxicated by a spirit of premature self-congratulation which has clouded their judgment and blinded their eyes to ominous reality," he warned a hundred conservative activists. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is running a "sting" against the West, according to Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus, "picking up loose pieces all over the chessboard of world conflict." For instance, Poland's new Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is really a Soviet collaborator, but his apparent independence from Moscow allows the Poles to solicit aid from the West. And in southern Africa, Gorbachev has been particularly wily, manipulating the situation so that now South Africa is "conferring legitimacy, honor and international prestige on a gang of communist criminals [the African National Congress]."

Soon after Phillips's sky-is-falling performance, Jack Wheeler, a professional anti-Communist and owner of an adventure travel company, offered a different message. "It's time to gloat," he said. He held up a conservative newsletter and scornfully recited a headline: "Soviet strategy for the conquest of the West." "What planet is this guy living on?" Wheeler asked. Calling Phillips's view counterproductive, he offered his plan: "Tell the Soviets, 'There are no longer two superpowers in the world. There is just one superpower, and you're not it.' We should say, 'We'll bail you out [with loans, credits and trade] but there's a price. Destroy all your nuclear weapons. . . . You get prosperity and we get military superiority.'" As a delegate observed of Wheeler and Phillips, "One of you has to be wrong."

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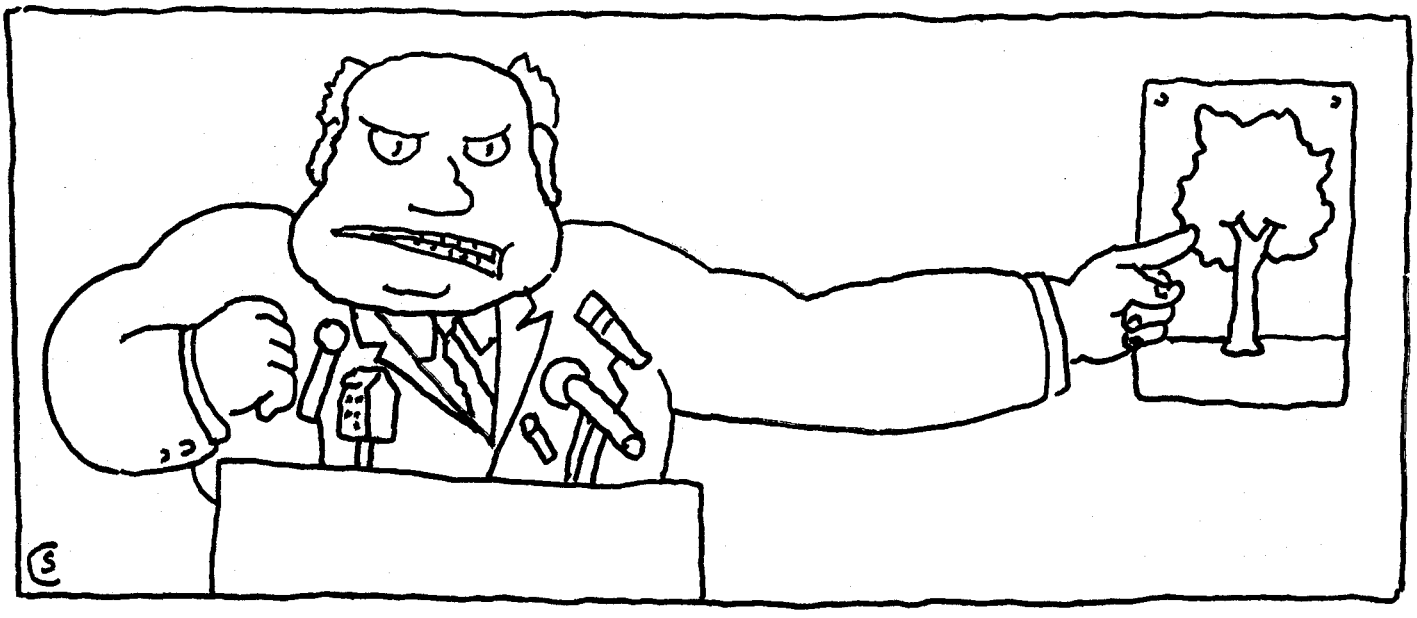
At the start of this conclave of almost 700 conservatives last month, David Keene, the preppy-looking political consultant and head of the American Conservative Union, noted that anti-Communism has always been the glue holding the right together. But the seal is slipping. At CPAC there was an obvious fissure between the "we won and let's take credit" crowd—which included Newt Gingrich, the House minority whip, and Jeane Kirkpatrick, the neocon guru—and the "evil empire lives on" die-hards. Senator Jesse Helms, speaking for the paranoid set, disclosed that Gorbachev has a master plan to turn the entire world into a socialist system. John Lenczowski, senior fellow at the Council for Inter-American Security, ranted that the European Revolution of 1989 was staged by the Kremlin "for the sake of neutralizing the rest of Europe and pulling the United States out of NATO." He revealed a Soviet plot, an "enormous campaign to court conservatives." It seems that the Russians are now seducing people like hard-line Sovietologist Richard Pipes and former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski with invitations to write for Soviet publications and sinisterly luring U.S. military and intelligence officials to exchanges with their Soviet counterparts.

The debate between Wheeler and Phillips demonstrated that right-wingers, like everyone else, are having difficulty figuring out how to adapt to the changing world. But the primary concern of many at CPAC appeared to be neatly placing events of the past year into a particular ideological pigeonhole. That was evident during a panel discussion in which Shen Tong, a leader of the Tiananmen Square protests and thus one who truly knows the evils of a totalitarian Communist state, shared the stage with L. Francis Bouchey, the president of the Council for Inter-American Security, which engages in the most meanspirited redbaiting, chasing imaginary Commies on Capitol Hill. While another member of the panel called for the violent overthrow of Vietnam, Tong, who was given a standing ovation when introduced, quoted Martin Luther King Jr. and preached nonviolent resistance. By contrast, the T-shirts for sale in the exhibit room across the hall depicted bleeding Chinese demonstrators and bore the slogan, "If They Had the Right to Bear Arms, They Could Have Defended Themselves." A young conservative excitedly asked Tong, "What can we do to bring capitalism and free enterprise into China?" He must have been disappointed when Tong replied that his movement's aim is to decentralize the power of the dictatorship, not turn China into Hong Kong.

With the glue weakening, perhaps other, less monumental splits in the conservative movement will become more significant. Members of Young Americans for Freedom had lapel stickers that read, "Say No to Bill Thomas Liberals." Thomas is a Republican in the House of Representatives who recently helped draft a voter registration bill. After Gingrich spoke on how the Republicans can become the majority party ("focus on wellness, not sickness"), he was pounced on by YAFfers upset about Thomas and the bill. Gingrich, a co-sponsor of the measure, snapped back that polls showed that if there had been a greater turnout Bush would have won a larger majority. The abortion debate raged; with a piqued Gary Bauer, a former Reagan aide who is now head of the Family Research Council, accusing the Republicans of running for cover. Perhaps the harshest words were exchanged on the emotional subject of a constitutional convention for a balanced budget amendment. "They're the biggest bunch of fascists," YAFfer James Bieber said of a panel of speakers that included James Davidson, chairman of the National Taxpayers Union, and Lewis Uhler, president of the National Tax Limitation Committee, who both support such a convention. "First thing they'll do is gut the Second Amendment," Bieber fretted. In the heat of the moment, Davidson called Phyllis Schlafly, an opponent of a constitutional convention, a "nut" and drew hisses from the crowd. And though former Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d gave the standard tough-on-drugs spiel, YAFfers, who espouse a primitive libertarianism, worried that the war on drugs is providing cover for those who would trample on civil liberties.

Yet for now the conservatives still share plenty of common foes even without Communism. The enemy within still



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plays with this crowd. "Once we take care of the Soviet Union, the next thing we have to take care of is the leftists here," Wheeler proclaimed, adding, "there are more Marxists on the faculty of Harvard than in all of Eastern Europe." Jesse Helms snorted, "I have always suspected that *The Washington Post* and other members of the media will never be satisfied until a card-carrying Communist is sitting in the White House." His audience applauded loudly. Specific targets include feminists promoting federally supported day care, an imperial Congress that, according to Gingrich, "is controlled by the left," and homosexuals. Direct-mail baron Richard Viguerie warned G.O.P. members of Congress, "If they don't challenge homosexuals putting crucifixes in urine, then we will."

There are also the environmentalists—or, as they are referred to in conservative parlance, "enviro-alarmists." Allan Gottlieb, head of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, cautioned his comrades not to be suckered by the hippie-and-granola, laid-back image; environmentalists are more powerful than they seem. "They are working double time to disempower the private sector," he noted. Fred Smith Jr., president of the Competitive Economic Institute, had a religious observation: "Environmentalists have lost sight of God. We're seeing a rebirth of pagan pantheism." In the exhibit hall, one could find a booth set up by a conservative "environmental" group, the National Wilderness Institute, which advocates "environmentally sound practices which harness the dynamic and creative forces of the private sector and reduce the regulatory burden of the Federal Government."

Even with the visigoths of the left pounding on the gates of the American family, this year's CPAC, the seventeenth such gathering, was not as spirited as previous get-togethers. Oliver North and Vice President Dan Quayle did give rousing speeches. Wheeler called for "Castro's head on a plate." Other speakers demanded that the United States hang on to the Panama Canal. Still, some delegates complained that CPAC had lost its pep. Maybe that's because there's less glue than there used to be.

The rifts between the professional, eyes-on-the-polls Republicans and the antiabortion grass-roots activists, between the libertarians and the moralists, between the pragmatic anti-Communists and the holy rollers of the cold war are not so serious as to tear the movement asunder. But they could lead to the dissipation of its energy. It is certainly premature to discuss the dissolution of the conservative bloc. But the right might have to worry about the Balkanization of its empire into single-issue republics. □

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Europe

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

buffer zone in East-Central Europe. This fault of the last postwar period should finally be corrected, especially since the waning of bipolarity and of nuclear sparring means that Europe's security arrangements need to be thoroughly rethought and redesigned.

Admittedly, it may be extravagant to claim that the cold war, which took such a heavy toll on much of the world and brought it to the brink of nuclear disaster, was neither inevitable nor necessary. But it is hardly excessive to suggest that the Western powers, and particularly the United States, should assume their share of responsibility for it. In fact, with time, historians of all schools and nations are likely to conclude that during both the inception and escalation of the cold war the two superpowers were, to paraphrase Leopold von Ranke, equally distant from God.

This reminder is necessary as the West rejoices over the high winds of democratic change that have buffeted the Eastern bloc and swept away repressive regimes as well as the Berlin wall, that callous Maginot line of the East-West confrontation. We rightly applaud and encourage the intellectuals and politicians of the destabilized Communist world in Europe who denounce yesterday's errors and excesses as part of their struggle to build a better tomorrow. It is disconcerting, however, that their counterparts in the momentarily stable Western world should not be moved to acknowledge the past mistakes and misdeeds of their respective governments, even if, notably in Europe, these were of a radically different and lesser order. Indeed, we tend to view the breathtaking but also perilous developments in East-Central Europe with nearly the same righteousness and bigotry that for decades polluted the political atmosphere on both sides of the falling Iron Curtain—whose original construction was, after all, a joint East-West venture.

Those self-critical intellectuals and scholars of the Eastern-bloc countries who admit the total bankruptcy of their interpretation of the capitalist world have every right to expect that we should reciprocate by recognizing the egregious flaws in our understanding of the Communist world. If we were not trapped in the idea of an inalterable totalitarianism—which during the cold war became something of a self-fulfilling prophecy—we might not be quite so bewildered by the events in East-Central Europe. To this day many scholars, not to mention *engagé* intellectuals and politicians, adhere to this idea of totalitarianism not simply as an analytic con-

Arno J. Mayer, Dayton-Stockton Professor of European History at Princeton University, is the author, most recently, of Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? *(Pantheon).*

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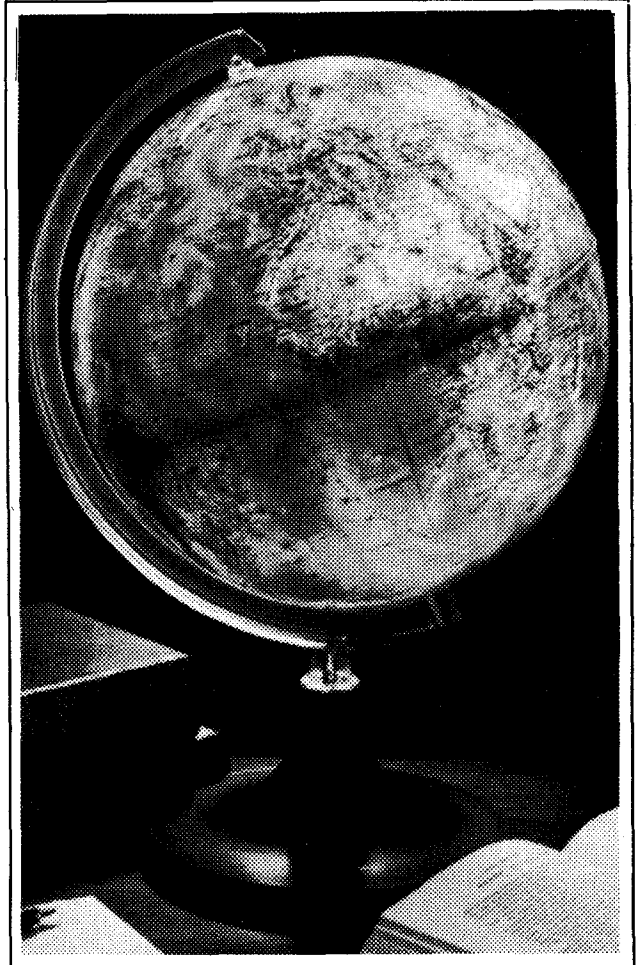

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cept or theory but as a political formula and fighting myth. Communist totalitarianism still tends to be widely thought of as the antithesis of what we believe to be a universally valid model of liberal democracy and free-market capitalism with Judeo-Christian underpinnings. Even in the academy this idea of totalitarianism continues to be discussed not as an ideal-typical construct, alongside despotism, oligarchy and tyranny, but as an empirical reality. Its proponents are, of course, quite correct to stress the exceptional force of ideology, party, police and propaganda, instrumentalized by an all-powerful dictator. But they are ill advised to keep following George Orwell and Hannah Arendt in paying little or no attention to the vast range of developments—social, ethnic, national, intellectual and cultural—that kept beating to their own rhythms and are now facilitating the great upheaval throughout the Soviet orbit. And it is as much an oversimplification to put all the blame for the closing of the Soviet system on Joseph Stalin as it is to give all the credit for reopening it to Mikhail Gorbachev.

(Also, the rush to *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union and the Eastern-bloc nations invalidates the argument that left-wing totalitarian regimes are more oppressive and less capable of liberalization than the right-wing authoritarian regimes in what we condescendingly call the Third World. Characteristically, much of the First World tends to turn a blind eye to the persistence of nondemocratic politics and human rights violations in Latin America, which is the primary and exclusive sphere of influence of the United States.)

The survival of relatively autonomous cultural and social spaces in civil society seems to have been an important prerequisite for the transformation of the regimes east of the Elbe. Of course there are important dissimilarities among the countries of what was insistently portrayed as a bloc of undifferentiated Soviet satellites. The scope for internal withdrawal, dissent and resistance—individual and shared, secular and religious, passive and active—seems to have been greater in Hungary, Russia and Poland than in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. Overall, however, the domination of civil society seems to have been distinctly less absolute than the concept of totalitarianism claims. At the same time it should not be forgotten that many, if not most, of the social, ethnic, religious and nationalist carriers of the chained anti-Communist and anti-Soviet opposition have never been partisans of either constitutional freedoms or free enterprise. In fact, it is important to emphasize that, well into the twentieth century, much of East-Central Europe, even more than the Iberian Peninsula, remained a stronghold of the Continent's undemocratic and preindustrial old regime.

The Soviet elites are in the process of coming to terms with the horrors and outrageous human costs of the first Red terror during the civil war and the foreign intervention of 1918-21, of the collectivization of agriculture and the second Red terror during the 1930s and of the Katyn forest massacre and the mass deportations during World War II. There is a recent precedent for a refusal to come to terms with the past. Immediately after 1945 most Germans blamed the crimes and atrocities of the Nazi regime almost exclusively on Hitler, his acolytes and the S.S. In similar fashion today many Russians blame the crimes and atrocities of the Bolshevik regime almost exclusively on Stalin, his coadjutants and the K.G.B. But as in Germany, in Russia and in the other Warsaw Pact nations this self-exonerating exorcism will soon give way to a multilayered analysis and understanding of Stalinist rule, with ever closer attention being paid to the complex forces that facilitated, even legitimized, the gulag.

In the meantime, we in the West can contribute to this long-overdue re-evaluation of a somber past by freeing ourselves from the central postulate of cold war theorists of totalitarianism that Soviet Russia was to be equated with Nazi Germany, not only in its domestic oppression but, above all, in its allegedly inexorable and unlimited drive for foreign expansion. In the process several essential dissimilarities between Nazism and Sovietism have been ignored or obfuscated.

The Third Reich was rooted in the collaboration of a new and improbable Nazi elite with Germany's old ruling classes. By precluding fundamental reforms in a time of grave economic and social crisis, this collaboration reinforced the bellicose and expansionist bent of the Nazi regime, which eventually perpetrated nearly all its unspeakable crimes—including most of the Judeocide—outside Germany and against non-Germans. It must be added that throughout the 1930s, while the Nazis consolidated their domestic control and began their drive for Continental hegemony, most of the European powers as well as Japan placated Berlin, until it was the Soviet Union's turn to do so between August 1939 and June 1941. This final act of diplomatic connivance with the Nazi regime has left a burdensome legacy of contested sovereignty for the Baltic republics and of uncertain borders for Poland.

By contrast, the Soviet regime broke or expelled Russia's traditional ruling and governing classes, was cordoned off by the other powers from the outset and committed the bulk of its execrable crimes inside Russia and against its own citizens. Admittedly, the Bolsheviks were sworn to a universal and messianic ideology. Even so, the internal momentum of their regime, unlike that of the Nazis, did not press them into relentless military aggression and limitless conquest abroad. In fact, until at least the late 1940s the Soviet Union was perceived as a threat not on account of its military capabilities or intentions but because the elites of other countries considered the appeals of its ostensibly revolutionary project a danger to themselves, especially in the midst of postwar instability in Europe and anticolonial revolt overseas.

In any case, unlike the Nazis, the Bolsheviks were set upon and contained almost without letup. Between 1918 and 1921 the Allies, including Poland and Japan, intervened directly in Russia's civil war; throughout the 1920s the major powers all but quarantined the Soviet regime; in the 1930s, with the indulgence of Britain and France, Nazi Germany began to set its sights on Lebensraum in Eastern Europe; and in 1941, after the twenty-two-month hiatus of

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An Open Letter From The Plowshares Movement...

Dear Friends,

In 1980, the arms race. "a machine gone mad" in the words of the Vatican Declaration of 1976, was seen by many as inevitable, beyond challenge. Most people avoided thinking about it or accepted the endless production of weapons as a necessary evil, part of the system of deterrence, meant to prevent nuclear war.

Yet planning and production of a system capable of launching a nuclear first strike was well along. This was described as "maintaining the credibility of deterrence." In other words, the U.S. was trying convincingly to demonstrate our intention actually to use these weapons, to "prevail" in a nuclear war; even if it meant putting nuclear war on a hair trigger or launching a "preemptive" strike.

In taking to heart the words of the prophet Isaiah and Micah, we determined to "beat swords into plowshares." On September 9, 1980 we walked into a General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania and took hammers to two Mark 12A warheads for Minuteman III missiles. We saw our action as one of hope for the future and gratitude for God's creation which was—and is—under threat of planetary extinction.

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Since 1980, millions of people have found ways nonviolently to challenge the lie that weapons provide security. Tens of thousands of people have been civilly disobedient; some of these are now serving prison sentences ranging up to eighteen years for plowshares actions.

The Soviet Union has taken astonishing initiatives for disarmament and has begun to dismantle Cold War structures. No longer a distant dream, the path toward a future based on ideas of common security is before us. In many ways, everything has changed.

But has it? Today tens of billions of desperately needed dollars are still squandered on wasteful and dangerous weapons systems. The poor, especially the children, continue to be victimized by General Electric's and other corporation's larcenous hold on the public treasury. Both the rate of poverty and the military budget were doubled during the 1980s.

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the damnable Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the Third Reich and its satellites crashed into Russia.

None of this is to say that the Bolsheviks ever considered introducing liberal democracy at home, that they were innocent of subversion abroad or that they intended to establish pluralistic regimes in countries that, except for Czechoslovakia, have a long and deep-seated autocratic past. But now that the leaders and intellectuals of the Eastern bloc, with varying degrees of popular support, decry the gulag, as well as the repression in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, their counterparts in the West should acknowledge that at critical junctures the policies of the outside world contributed to the deadly rigidification of the Soviet regime and bloc. This unrelenting external hostility exacerbated—and justified—what, to a degree, was determined by Bolshevik ideology and praxis: the hardening of the single-party dictatorship, the brutal regimentation and hyperexploitation of the peasantry, and the forced buildup of heavy industry geared to war production. It also served to foster a siege mentality, without which the uniquely vicious political and military purges of 1935-39 would have been inconceivable.

The Bolshevik regime narrowly survived the internal strains and stresses of the 1930s and the war. The spectacular and unexpected victory of the Red Army over the *Wehrmacht* saved the regime from catastrophe, but at an immense cost and sacrifice. In 1945 Soviet Russia was a wasted and vulnerable great power. It faced a colossal task of reconstruction and felt its survival threatened. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that with the breakup of the unholy Grand Alliance and the resumption of hostile foreign pressures, the men in the Kremlin should have resolved, once again, to put guns ahead of butter. At the same time they hastened to reinforce their rule at home and to impose compliant regimes in their sphere of domination in East-Central Europe, which they came by as a result of military developments in 1944-45. Indeed, the fortunes of war left the Soviet Union a vastly and dangerously overextended world power with feet of clay, which Stalin was desperate to conceal.

Needless to say, the relatively rapid loosening of these iron controls has many and complex causes. These are both internal and external to the Communist regimes. They include the stifling absence of truth and free discussion, along with the oppressive boredom and drabness of daily life, especially for the young, in restless cities. There is, in addition, a rapidly rising dissatisfaction with stagnant or worsening material conditions and prospects, especially in comparison with the West. Planned command economies have, for a host of reasons, failed to keep pace with the fast-moving and ineluctable third industrial revolution, except in the hermetically sealed and economically wasteful defense sector, which had a claim on the best brainpower and remuneration.

Until recently, foreign military and economic pressures contributed to this paralysis by reinforcing the Kremlin's predisposition to continue giving the production of capital goods absolute priority over the production of consumer goods and services. Washington orchestrated and financed this comprehensive strategy of containment, which simultaneously overtaxed and cemented the unsteady Communist world. But starting some fifteen years ago, and despite Washington's attempt in the early and mid-1980s to lock the "evil empire" into an economically crippling arms race, there was a gradual relaxation of this vise, largely as a consequence of the changing balance of military, economic and financial power in the world system, with Germany (about to be reunified), Japan and China assuming ever greater weight.

There has been, then, a shift back from an exceptional and relatively short-lived period of bipolarity, managed by two superpowers, to a more conventional multipolar concert of several great powers. In the process, the psychology of, and capacity for, mutually assured nuclear destruction has been defused. The timing of the Eastern upheaval—why now and not earlier?—is probably as much a function of international developments as of domestic ones. From the outset, Gorbachev's reforms "from above," with their narrow and precarious social base, were due as much to declining dangers and growing margins for maneuver abroad as to growing internal pressures. In brief, if the chain reaction of insurgencies, sustained by popular demonstrations, becomes irreversible, it will be in no small measure because the rulers of Russia feel sufficiently secure internationally not to run the political and diplomatic risks and costs of intervention abroad (including in the Third World), which has so sapped Soviet power since 1945. Accordingly, 1989, unlike 1848, may enter history, to modify Trevelyan's image, as the "turning point at which contemporary European history succeeded in making the turn."

An understanding of today's great thaw might be advanced by viewing it in a larger historical context. This may be all the more necessary in a climate in which the tendency is for history to be rewritten to mitigate all the horrors—including the Nazi horrors—of the past seventy-five years except those of Communism, and to magnify and extol nearly all present-day ethnic, religious and nationalist revivals, no matter how illiberal or ferocious. Indeed, much of retrovisionary history, not unlike much of previsionary punditry, is permeated by a feverish spirit of restoration.

There is good reason to believe that the end of the cold war marks less the end of the aftermath of World War II than the closing of the epoch of the Russian Revolution of 1917. It should not be forgotten that the revolution was perhaps the most momentous event of the general crisis and thirty years' war of the twentieth century and of their prolonged aftermath. Like the French Revolution of 1789, the Russian Revolution radically disrupted both political and civil society. Any such drastic break gives rise to an escalation of violence between the forces of change, which are determined to preserve and enlarge this rupture, and the

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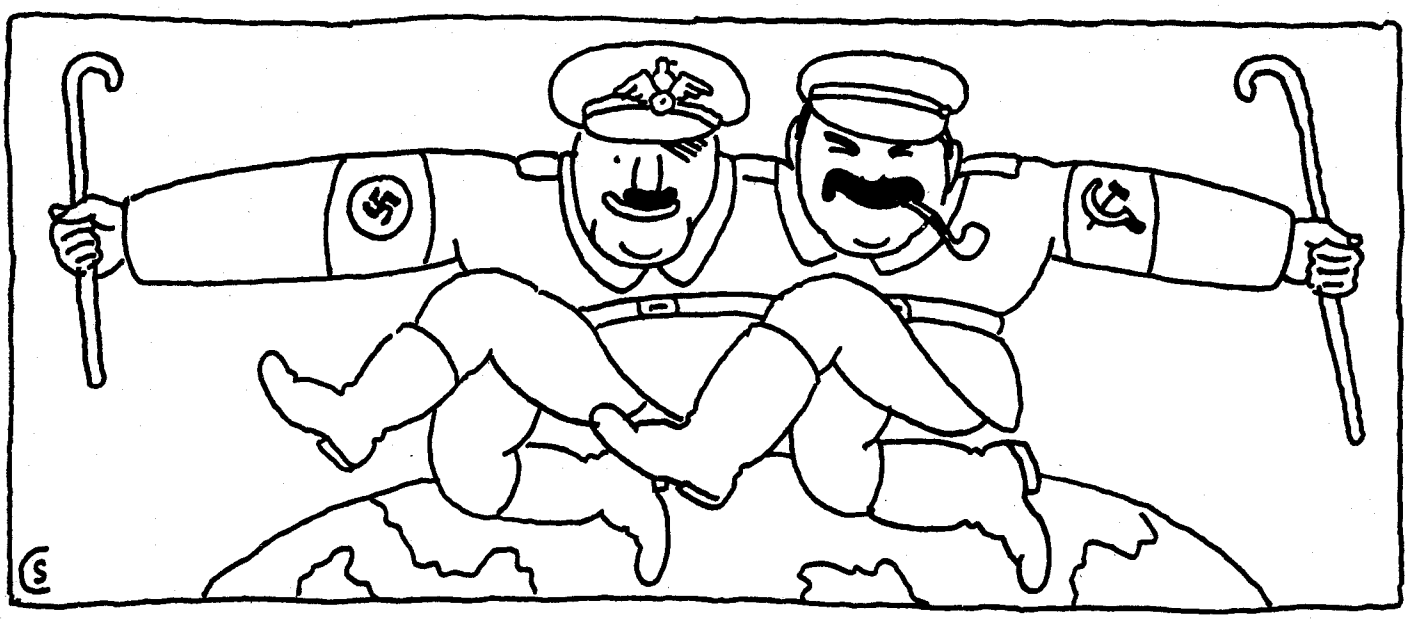
forces of conservatism, which are determined to narrow or close it. By virtue of its universal ideological charge and the fact that its political epicenter was in the lands of a major power, the Russian Revolution, even more than the French, sent shock waves to all corners of the world, thereby internationalizing the clash between the militants of the two opposing forces. Revolution and counterrevolution are closely entwined. They are inseparable sides of a single historical process, and both sides contribute, however unevenly, to the infernal upward spiral of blind violence and terror, both domestic and international, that is characteristic of revolutionary epochs. The Russian Revolution, unlike the French, precipitated a systematic and coherent counterrevolution abroad, notably in the policies of Nazi Germany, whose infamous misdeeds are currently being downplayed in some European circles.

Of course, in revolutionary epochs, including the one that is now ending, the opposing sides are not monolithic, nor are their politics consistent or closely coordinated. Even so, as long as they are driven by the misperceptions of their respective ultras, the two sides are fated to remain locked in deadly battle. But there are incessant efforts in both camps to head off the escalation of violence. In hindsight these assume considerable political importance. In one camp, liberal conservatives advocate a timely termination of the revolution, or a "revolution without a revolution," even at the risk of a return to the *ancien régime*, which they view with rose-colored glasses. Above all, wary of spontaneous or organized mass action, they want segments of the old elites to remain in control. In fact, liberal conservatives mistrust crowds, fearful that demagogues will play on their allegedly natural disposition to turn into bloodthirsty mobs.

In the other camp, democratic revolutionaries, confident of the people, favor a humane revolution with a minimum of bloodshed and terror. They would rather have "their" revolution crushed by counterrevolutionaries than have it saved by an irrevocable revolutionary dictatorship that saps the future moral force of the revolutionary idea. According to Boris Kagarlitsky, one of the Soviet Union's most authentic left-dissident voices, there was something "glorious" about the bloody repression of the Paris Commune in 1871 and the violent death of Salvador Allende in the antirevolutionary coup in Chile in 1973. In both instances martyrdom for the noble cause left open the possibility for coming generations to "begin again from the beginning." By contrast, "the death of Bukharin [was] shameful." He and other leading Bolsheviks were "killed by the punitive organs they themselves had created," thereby fostering the corruption and disenchantment of the revolution.

Appalled by the massive violence and terror of the first half of this century, both liberal conservatives and democratic revolutionaries, even if for different reasons, regret the failure to find a middle path, a third way that might have spared Europe its harrowing "era of tyrannies." But in a revolutionary epoch when, in the words of Merleau-Ponty, "the freedom of each individual threatens the life of all others and violence reappears," the middle way becomes a historical impossibility. It is only now, with the great thaw, that the Manicheans of the opposing camps are being driven from the historical stage. Nearly everywhere in Europe suspicion is giving way to trust, fear to hope, polemics to reasoned discourse and blackmail to compromise. In this relatively decontaminated atmosphere Western political elites ought to be able to avoid the holy-minded and lopsided policies that, starting in 1917, contributed to locking Europe into one of its darkest and bloodiest nights. As for the latter-day Thermidorians in Eastern Europe, they seem constrained and determined to try to fit their imploding socialism into the overbearing global economy and the forthcoming European common market.

No doubt, having all but gone to Canossa, Gorbachev and his equivalents in East-Central Europe will find it easier to transform the political, legal and cultural system of Communism than to restructure its economic and social system, which over several generations has spawned relatively tenacious popular mentalities and expectations. With time, both Eastern and Western Europeans, as they construct their "common house," might even begin to acknowledge and



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build on the now forgotten and discredited achievements of the Russian Revolution. Nothing is served by blacking out the revolution's political, social and economic accomplishments in Eastern Europe, many of them unintended consequences of the two world wars. Nor will it do to deny the indirect catalytic effects of the great fear of Communism on the labor and welfare policies of the capitalist countries and on the nationalist insurgencies throughout the colonial and semicolonial world. To make these points is to recall that after 200 years the French Revolution still inspires the world with its core ideas and historical heritage, despite the terror of the guillotine, the violence of the Vendée and the recurrent setbacks on the road to democratic republicanism.

There is something comforting about taking partisan wishes for historical reality. Beginning in the mid-1950s, in the wake of European reconstruction and restabilization, Western intellectuals of the progressive-liberal and democratic socialist persuasion prophesied first the advent of postcapitalism, then the end of ideology and eventually the coming of postindustrial society. Today an even larger spectrum of secular prophets in the West proclaims that Communism is in its terminal crisis in Eastern Europe, and probably also in China. This prognosis conjures up memories of the Comintern's affirmation, between 1928 and 1935, that capitalism was about to suffer its final collapse. Having underestimated the potential for defensive reaction throughout the crisis-torn non-Communist world, including in Nazi Germany, Moscow and the Communist parties adopted a politically reckless and self-defeating course during those seven years. Just as six decades ago there was said to be no alternative to the universal triumph of Communism, so today there is supposed to be no alternative to the spread of political pluralism and market capitalism with an ultimately human face to the Second and Third Worlds, despite the fact that their societies are both theoretically and practically ill prepared to take such a course. The atrophied messianic vision of a Communist paradise is being overtaken by a triumphal vision of the imminent end of dialectical history.

It takes uncommon hubris to prescribe a frail Western European and North American formula, conditioned by particular historical circumstances, not only for Eastern Europe but also for much of the Third World, wracked by severe demographic, food and energy problems. Whereas in Eastern Europe economic and political frustrations are likely to feed the outburst of age-old but repressed ethnic, nationalist and religious hatreds, in the so-called Third World they may fire spiritual fundamentalism along with mass migrations, civil conflicts and wars. There are good reasons to believe that the thundering celebration of dystopia in the self-confident West and in disabused Eastern Europe will find little echo in most of the rest of the world.

Indeed, it is safe to predict that, just as war and the hope for utopia are unlikely to be banished for all time, so history is not about to end or travel down a unilinear and continuous road. Instead, it will, as always, follow a sinuous and contested path mined with the promises and perils of violent eruptions. □

EDITORIALS.

(*Continued From Page 477*)

ply with U.S. regulations. In recent testimony before the House subcommittee on International Operations, Turkiz Gokgol, country representative of The Pathfinder Fund, a U.S.-based family-planning group, described how U.S. policy prevents health care providers from answering a pregnant woman's questions about abortion. "Since abortion is legal in Turkey, this puts the health care worker in a position that is unlawful and professionally unethical," he explained. "Threats to withhold funds that would provide thousands of patients with preventive contraceptive care unless the provider surrenders his or her medical oath is not an imposition, it is blackmail."

In 1985 the London-based International Planned Parenthood Federation was forced to cut back projects in the Third World. The next victim would have been Family Planning International Assistance, the international arm of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. But Planned Parenthood challenged U.S. policy in Federal District Court, citing a violation of its overseas workers' First Amendment rights. On March 7 Judge John Walker ruled that the President was entitled, under the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, to impose a policy affecting private organizations overseas. Planned Parenthood will undoubtedly appeal.

The impact of the Mexico City Policy is only now coming to light. Following a 1988 tour of family-planning clinics in developing countries, Dr. Sharon Camp of the Population Crisis Committee reported that the policy had probably increased, rather than lessened, the incidence of abortion. According to the World Health Organization, 200,000 women die from illegal abortions each year. If complications from pregnancy and childbirth are included, the death toll exceeds half a million. These numbers will continue to rise if Planned Parenthood loses its appeal, as the organization supports 140 family-planning programs in thirty-five Third World countries, providing contraceptive services to some 1.4 million people. A 1987 study by Charles Hammerslough of the University of Michigan School of Public Health predicts that a cutoff of U.S. funding for F.P.I.A. would result in 69,000 more abortions, 1,200 additional pregnancy-related maternal deaths and an increase of 311,000 births in three years.

As the clamor for choice grows louder, President Bush's opposition to abortion is becoming a political liability. U.S. international abortion policies now face Congressional review. The Atkins-Snowe bill (H.R. 720) would treat foreign family-planning groups the same as those in the United States, while the Kostmayer-Schneider bill (H.R. 4075) would restore funding for U.N. population programs. It is high time that these issues be moved from the foreign policy arena and thrust into the domestic debate over abortion, where they belong. HEATHER L. MCCULLOCH

Heather L. McCulloch is a New York City–based freelance writer.

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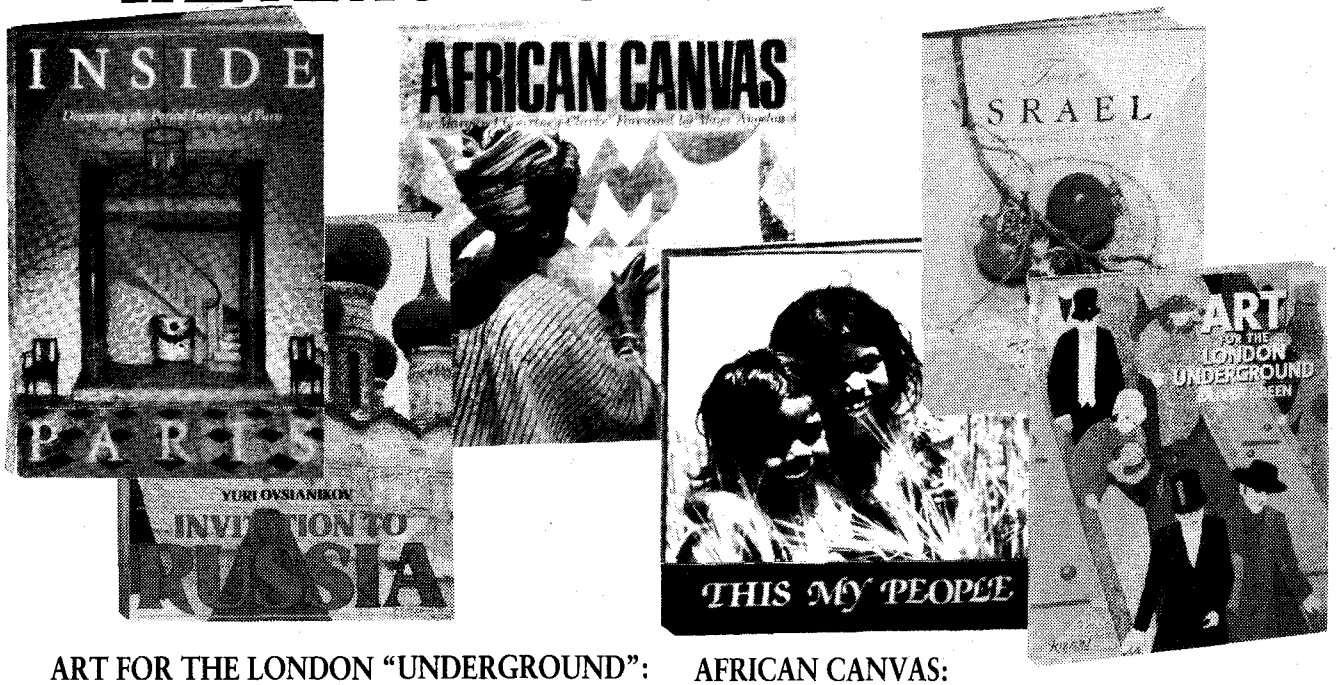
THE ARTS AROUND THE WORLD



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JOAN JACOBS BRUMBERG

APPETITE FOR CHANGE: How the Counterculture Took On the Food Industry, 1966–1988. *By Warren Belasco. Pantheon. 311 pp. $24.95.*

Although Red Zinger never became our national drink, food and eating changed in America as a result of the social revolution of the 1960s. According to Warren Belasco, professor of American studies at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, there was political ferment at the dinner table as well as in the streets.

In this lively and intelligent mixture of narrative history and cultural analysis, Belasco argues that middle-class America eats differently today than in 1950 because of the way the counterculture raised the national consciousness about food. Beginning with an amusing but insightful personal food biography, Belasco charts his own transit from his grandmother's flanken and kugel to Sikh macrobiotics. He also paints the broader picture: how whole grain loaves replaced Wonder Bread; red meat gave way to combinations of beans, nuts and cheese; granola bars and yogurt became staples of even the kindergarten diet; and consumption of fresh produce skyrocketed. Between 1973 and 1983, our national consumption of broccoli per capita grew by 214 percent. Given the usual tenacity of food habits, how did this happen in less than twenty years? And what does this new way of eating mean in a society where a new McDonald's appears every fifteen hours?

Belasco puts food at the center of left politics in the 1960s and 1970s in a book that is both analytic and deeply nostalgic. After 1966, when the Diggers burst into Haight-Ashbury distributing free food, the ideal of alternative living became increasingly focused on the marketing and consumption of food. Many middle-class young people, particularly those who were critics of American involvement in Vietnam, began to consider food an essential ingredient in their personal and generational identity. These "freaks" (a term Belasco uses fondly) rejected the beef-based, adulterated cuisine of their families and opted instead for foods that were "natural" or lower on the food chain. The call for a decentralized food supply generated a network of rural communes and urban food co-ops, where disaffected youth developed a new way of eating, both as an act of defiance and a response to their perception of an impending ecocatastrophe. By 1969 environmentalism (by then called ecology) was emerging as the left's "primary vehicle for outrage and hope, edging aside civil rights, the antiwar movement, and revolutionary socialism."

Belasco is at his best reconstructing the major tenets of the countercuisine, an oppositional way of eating that incorporated a specific set of political, social and aesthetic values. To do this, he turns a historian's eye to all kinds of food-related materials that illuminate this particular aspect of recent history: ephemeral free publications duplicated on university mimeographs, alternative cookbooks, trade journals produced within the food industry and a range of counterculture best sellers—*The Whole Earth Catalogue* (1968), *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971), *Eat Your Heart Out* (1976). The cast of characters is interesting and diverse, ranging from such well-known Bay Area figures as Gary Snyder, Todd Gitlin and Alice Waters to lesser-known, older "organic nuts" such as J.I. Rodale (founder of Rodale Press) and hip entrepreneurs such as Mo Siegel (founder of Celestial Seasonings).

In the counterculture food was a medium of communication and a form of subversion, much like music, sex and drugs. Cooking rules were cast aside in the name of improvisation and cultural diversity. The most successful cookbooks of this era, such as *Country Commune Cooking* and *The Moosewood Cookbook*, leaped across continents, borrowed willy-nilly from other ethnic cuisines and rejected "the Angloconformity of Kraft, Campbell's, and Howard Johnson's."

But the countercuisine, like all cuisines, also had its own internal structure and logic. How one consumed protein was a critical issue. Instead of meat, there was an apostolic call to return to timeless grains and legumes. Because cooking was recast as a craft, the counterculture emphasized slow cooking and labor-intensive foods such as soups, stews and breads. Of course, these breads were brown rather than white because "darkness was funky, earthy, authentic while whiteness, the color of powerful detergents, suggested fear of contamination and disorder." Belasco's evocative review of how we ate in those turbulent years prompts memories of first encounters with Ball jars and tofu, as well as brown rice, which he playfully calls "the icon of antimodernity." Although he admits to the counterculture's vague, romantic and naïve qualities, Belasco also insists that it generated a new "organic paradigm" that prompted basic questions about conventional science, challenged the hegemony of agribusiness and proposed a radical decentralization of population and power.

As a result, by the 1970s the food establishment was in a panic. In a description of the "food wars" that followed, Belasco's voice becomes angry and more animated: "While countercuisine partisans saw themselves as heroic rabbits struggling to establish healthy niches in a survivalist briarpatch, many in the food establishment acted more like complacently plump suburbanites whose cocktail party is invaded by voracious rats." Belasco describes how Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz and Harvard nutritionist Frederick Stare tried to fight off "the insurgency" by attacking the ethics and science of food industry critics. Popular journalism supplied the auxiliary troops to put down the food rebellion. According to Belasco, the media's "goodwill toward capitalism" meant that reporting was biased in favor of elite professionals at the expense of the countercuisine they ridiculed. *Vogue*, for example, railed against the "food neurotics" and "food McCarthyites" who deigned to question the establishment experts.

The food industry's self-defense was a curious blend of self-interest, tautological thinking and outdated public health concerns. Public information programs set up by the industry began to argue that it didn't matter whether you ate whole wheat or fortified white bread because, in molecular terms, the nutrients were the same. In effect, everything, including additives, pesticides and plastics, was "natural." A second important argument was that modern technology was superior to

Joan Jacobs Brumberg, who teaches history at Cornell University, is the author of Fasting Girls: The History of Anorexia Nervosa, *recently issued in paperback by New American Library.*

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nature. Here the industry relied on an older medical model, that of deficiency diseases caused by nutritional inadequacies. According to Belasco the food giants (and their handmaidens in government and academe) began to argue that "life before processing was barely worth living." Removal of additives meant the return of rickets, pellagra and scurvy; the elimination of preservatives implied botulism, salmonella and dysentery. By eating organically, the United States would become just like Bangladesh. In an attempt to link its cause to social progress, the food industry also claimed that processed and convenience foods were natural allies of the women's movement, if not agents of reform.

One of the more surprising aspects of this story is the role of Senator George McGovern, who, after his defeat in the 1972 presidential race, went on to chair the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, whose work was the basis for the influential report "Dietary Guidelines for Americans" (1980). Belasco suggests that this document, which he calls "McGovern's Last Stand," had a critical impact on the way we eat because it presented a serious challenge to our existing dietary habits. Putting aside older medical concerns about deficiency diseases, the McGovern report focused national attention on current American health problems—heart attacks, strokes, cancer, cirrhosis of the liver and diabetes—and their link to excessive amounts of protein, fat and sugar as well as unprecedented quantities of sodium and untested additives. In its advocacy of a new "negative nutrition," the McGovern report changed the terms of the national debate. For the first time, an agency of the government went on record in favor of people eating less of substances vital to the food industry.

Predictably, the report was challenged. Being restrictive rather than expansive about food seemed downright un-American to some people. It certainly ran counter to the logic of a capitalist marketplace, where eating more was the key to business prosperity. Unable to comprehend how Americans could ever change their diet, Earl Butz fought back. "Americans are not going to eat one less hamburger per week. They are going to eat one more hamburger per week. Furthermore, they need have no sense of guilt as they do so."

But food industry analysts were sharper and faster than Secretary Butz. Realizing that some consumers were already

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looking for more healthful food, market researchers quickly identified different "taste cultures" and zeroed in on a critical new "profit center": the upper-income 40 percent of American households that were sufficiently health conscious to pay more for food that incorporated "negative nutrition." In the case of breakfast cereals (which Belasco rightly flags as something of a national fetish), ingredients that offended upscale consumers—such as sugar, sodium and preservatives—were simply removed, the product was renamed and the price was increased. Faced with new consumer demands and expectations, the industry deftly developed and promoted a range of "natural" and, subsequently, "lite" products that have come to occupy a significant niche in the upscale food market. Here profits are high and the possibilities as limitless as the bourgeois taste for food.

Ultimately, the food industry was too powerful and the countercuisine's challenge too diffuse to bring about a new social order through food. The industry's most successful defense, of course, was the elaboration of niche markets that both shape and respond to class differences. But in the supermarkets of the 1990s, there will also be products that represent the convergence of discrete markets and interests. For example, "lite" versions of the classic Hostess Twinkie already adorn shelves, as do organic, naturally sweetened versions of Froot Loops. The interplay between one "market niche" and another appears endless; the sophistication of food industry techniques is virtually mind-boggling. Through the science of "hedonics" everything about food is vulnerable to manipulation: taste, flavor, mouthfeel, texture, color. In this frenetic food environment, some people's behavior becomes bizarre. Leaving aside the whole question of eating disorders and other compulsive behaviors that are characteristic of our consumer society, Belasco raises his eyebrows at "neosquare" eating or "retro food," that is, the current infatuation with reviving typical American foods such as meatloaf, mashed potatoes, fried chicken and Waldorf salad, all of which were disdained in the countercuisine. To the author, who took "the insurgency" seriously, this trendy behavior seems silly and, sadly, characteristic of "overstimulated dietary tourist[s]," which most of us are.

Belasco's case for "food as politics/ the politics of food" might have been strengthened by a final, coherent summary of where we are now. Middle-class passions about food have intensified in the past few years, although our current preoccupations with food are part of a pervasive emphasis on bodily control that was not part of the expansive, liberating spirit of the 1960s. Issues of what and how to eat in the 1990s are inextricably linked to personal issues of fitness and, alas, aging. The new food purism—no cholesterol, more fiber and good (as opposed to bad) fats—is a highly individualistic form of politics perfectly suited to the graying of the baby boom generation as well as the mentality of the Reagan years. In addition, the question of who gathers and prepares food is a critical problem in contemporary gender politics, something the counterculture never really addressed and may even have been reactionary about. The politics of food remains germane precisely because the production, consumption and distribution of food always involves issues of power and cultural authority. To think that food has disappeared from politics would be sadly misguided. □

A Prophetic Pragmatism

K. ANTHONY APPIAH

THE AMERICAN EVASION OF PHILOSOPHY: A Genealogy of Pragmatism. *By Cornel West. University of Wisconsin Press. 279 pp. $42.50. Paper $16.95.*

At least since Homer, in the European tradition, but surely everywhere and everywhen in societies both oral and literate, communities have fashioned themselves around stories of the past, chronicles that constitute "us" as Hellenes or Yorubas or Americans. And at least since Aristotle, Western philosophers have been constructing histories that place at the center of their ancestors' projects the very problems they now claim to be able to solve themselves. Both kinds of story often contain a fair degree of fancy, molding history into a usable narrative. One way of seeing Hegel's distinctive contribution to the philosophy of history is as a cementing of these two genres: Hegel understood the past of philosophy in protonationalist terms as a relay in which human self-understanding was the baton and the runners were historical communities. (It is not too much of a caricature to add that the historic task of the Germans was to cross the finish line and declare themselves the winners.) In this Hegelian conception philosophers are not merely accidental citizens of this or that nation, embedded in this or that culture. German philosophy, for Hegel, is not just the expression in the German language and by Germans of ideas and arguments that could just as easily have been made elsewhere. Not only is the core of German philosophy intimately bound up with German culture but the German people are bound together in part by German philosophy.

In recent years Richard Rorty has been conducting a campaign to persuade us that we should come to such an understanding of American philosophy. Rorty believes his own development of pragmatism—an unlikely melding of liberalism and postmodernism, of solidarity and irony—is the last best hope, not of man (nor even of humankind) but of America (or, sometimes, of something he calls European culture, in which he seems to include both himself and much of American "high" culture). If there is much that is appealing in Rorty's antifoundationalism, his liberal revulsion against human cruelty and his arguments for pluralism, there is something worrisome, too, in his deliberate ethnocentrism and the conservatism that flows from his political pessimism. Cornel West's engaging and engaged *The American Evasion of Philosophy* needs to be read as a subtle polemic against the dangers of the highly influential new pragmatism as it celebrates and expands Rorty's insights.

West, who has taught at Yale University and Union Theological Seminary and is now professor of religion and director of Afro-American studies at Princeton University, may well be the pre-eminent African-American intellectual of our generation. Highly influential as a theorist of postmodernism, West bridges cultural theory and the black community, inserting the issue of the progressive potential of the black church, for example, into debates about the politics of postmoder-

K. Anthony Appiah teaches in the department of philosophy and the graduate program in literature at Duke University. He is currently at work on In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture, *to be published by Oxford University Press.*

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nity, while transforming discussions in the black community with his sharp sense of the relevance of theory to its concerns. West's earlier books—*Prophesy Deliverance!*, *Prophetic Fragments* and a notable collection, *Post-Analytic Philosophy*, edited with John Rajchman—have ranged widely. Rooted in a sense of the continuing relevance of Christianity and socialism, his work displays an inexhaustible appetite for ideas and a compelling moral vision. But *The American Evasion of Philosophy* is the most ambitious and original project that he has undertaken.

West's argument is this: While mainstream American academic philosophers have been quietly practicing the epistemologically grounded inquiry that has dominated post-Cartesian philosophy in the West, a distinctive tradition of American philosophical work, pragmatism, has sought to evade this aspect of the Cartesian inheritance. "To evade modern philosophy means to strip the profession of philosophy of its pretense, disclose its affiliations with structures of powers (both rhetorical and political) rooted in the past, and enact intellectual practices . . . that invigorate and unsettle one's culture and society."

Notice that what West seeks to achieve in this passage is an account of the "evasion" of philosophy that combines a poststructuralist demystification of philosophy's pretensions with cultural and political criticism. And while the latter is indeed central, though to varying degrees, in the pragmatism of Emerson, Peirce and James, and above all in the work of Dewey—who is, for West as for Rorty, the pre-eminent pragmatist—persuading us that the former is also a crucial part of the pragmatist inheritance is West's major task in this book.

The argument West makes begins, in essence, with Peirce's crucial formulation of pragmatism in "How to Make Our Ideas Clear": "Consider what effects, that might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have." A philosophy that starts here is bound to undermine the pretensions of a philosophical tradition—the "modern philosophy" the pragmatists evade—whose epistemology is foundationalist, whose ontology is realist and whose understanding of meaning is atomistic. But once we begin to demythologize philosophy, West claims, we must end by "dragging in the complexities of politics and culture."

To pull off the kind of persuasive redefinition that West and Rorty seek requires above all a substantial marshaling of historical scholarship. And West's deployment of intellectual history—his account not merely of the figures most familiar in portraits of pragmatism but also of Sidney Hook, C. Wright Mills, W.E.B. Du Bois, Reinhold Niebuhr and Lionel Trilling—is impressive and compelling. More than this, West's position is not a simple-minded attack on academic philosophy. He argues, for example, that the contributions of the professional philosophers—Quine's holism, Goodman's antireductionism, Sellars's antifoundationalism—are part of what has made the contemporary resurgence of pragmatism possible.

But the heart of the book, its deeper argument, is West's insistence that Rorty has resurrected the wrong Dewey. "Rorty's Dewey," West observes at one point, "is much more intellectually playful and politically tame than the Dewey we examined." What, West asks,

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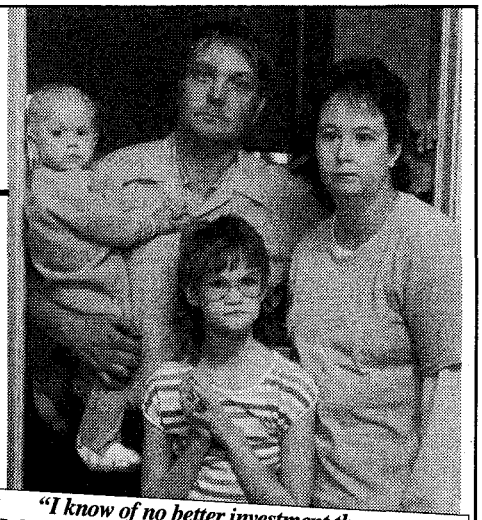

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> from an ethical point of view—the central point of view for pragmatists—. . . is the difference that makes a difference here? Rorty's neopragmatism only kicks the philosophic props from under liberal bourgeois capitalist societies; it requires no change in our cultural and political practices. What then are the ethical and political consequences of this neopragmatism? On the macrosocietal level, there simply are none.

In arguing for his own "prophetic" pragmatism, West seeks to draw on the potentialities American pragmatism offers for radical political critique, and it is here that the work of the early Sidney Hook (Dewey's student but also, for a time, America's most original Marxist), of Du Bois and of C. Wright Mills, is central to his historical argument. No one can deny that these thinkers were self-consciously influenced by pragmatism. When West argues at the end of his book that his prophetic pragmatism, though "deeply indebted to the continental traveling theories such as Marxism, structuralism, and poststructuralism . . . remains in the American grain," it is a conclusion he has earned. *The American Evasion of Philosophy* is thus a gentle rebuke to the pragmatism without consequences of Richard Rorty, and a powerful call for philosophy to play its role in building a radical democracy in alliance with the wretched of the earth. □

An Encylopedist's Lot

PAUL BUHLE

A few weeks before *The Encyclopedia of the American Left* went to press, I received a call from an older woman with a halting voice. Was there still time, she wanted to know, to add a little more documentation on her dad's outrage at the utterly un-American civil liberties violations of cold war days? There wasn't, but I reassured Margaret Sandburg: The most important message about Carl Sandburg's lifelong socialist commitment had come across. A day or two earlier, I had received an urgent note from a small-town Southwesterner whose name I did not recognize. If this was an encyclopedia about American radicalism, how could we have left him out, when he had been radical his whole life?

He had a point, because in the real saga of the American left, distinctions between the great and the humble should be fewer or at least differently measured than in so-called mainstream history. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the Haymarket Bomb, Big Bill Haywood, the Hollywood Ten, W.E.B. Du Bois, the Seattle General Strike, *The Appeal to Reason*, Union Square, Margaret Sanger (her early years as anarcho-feminist birth-control agitator) and even Sidney Hook (his early years as Marxist philosopher) are inevitable candidates for inclusion. But once you've noted the monumental individuals, institutions and historic events, then what?

That more-than-rhetorical question inspired the three *Encyclopedia* editors, with the encouragement of many friends, to take on so presumptuous a task. Dan Georgakas, author of *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, about black labor militancy in his hometown, had long worked editorially with *Cineaste* magazine and written for the Greek-American press. Mari Jo Buhle was an early cartographer of women's history, author of a monograph and a bibliographical volume about American women and the left. My own varied interests had led me to conduct hundreds of interviews with old-timers and publish several magazines directed at the New Left and its descendants. All of us could be accused of left eclecticism; no theory, position or organization seemed nearly large enough to encompass the richness of the story that we had observed and studied.

It's hard now to say just what we expected the results to be when we got to work in early spring of 1988. Encyclopedias on all subjects appear by the dozens these days, and most seem to be specialized and academic. We had something else in mind, less a final judgment upon the subject than a reflection of the latest phases of exploration and re-evaluation. Unknowingly preparing ourselves as encyclopedists, we had been making the necessary contacts with future writers and surveying the literature for most of our adult lives.

Until the last decade or so, most of the history of the American left had been written from the top down. Anyone who has passed out leaflets or sat through meetings and conferences while the orators had their say and then some knows what I mean. The history of radicalism, in its customary forms of biographical and institutional studies, is a writ-large version of such conferences. To make matters worse, all but a few historians have worked exclusively with published English-language records and newspaper reports, neglecting the vast data on the immigrant movements which dominated working-class radicalism for generations. But happily, times have changed.

Women's history, black history and oral history, to take only a few examples, have conspired with postmodern perspectives to suggest that social movements can be understood by finding out how the nonleaders, local yokels or fractious rank-and-filers constructed *their* narrative version of left political history and its complicated relationship with American culture. Younger scholars, many of them third-generation ethnics, have meanwhile begun to reinterpret the "foreign" sources and resurrect folkish networks that kept family members close to left organizations. The implications of all this are enormous, but getting them down on paper is another matter.

We bombarded our friends and their friends with requests for topics and writers. The results were generally gratifying. But not infrequently we would discover that an author has all the enthusiasm of a young graduate student, but submits a historical text so subtly inscribed as to be opaque to innocent eyes. Or that one still carries the grudges of 1937, but knows things no one else could know. Then there's the contributor editors both desire and fear: He or she grasps every last nuance but can't capture them in fewer than 5,000 words—or won't write at all. Editing turned out to be full of pragmatic decisions, with occasional rejections, some bruised feelings and no doubt a few bad calls. But how could it be otherwise amid the contradictions battled over (sometimes by the *Encyclopedia* contributors themselves) for generations?

Narrowing down all the possible subjects to 600 or so potential entries led to a welter of ambiguities, many of them peculiar to the left. Some important organizations—the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, for example, which did much valuable work to prevent deportations of immigrant radicals—never described themselves as left but also never strayed far from the Communist Party milieu. Should we include those groups? We did, in this case

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Paul Buhle is editor of History and the New Left: Madison, Wisconsin 1950–1970 *(Temple University Press)*. The Encyclopedia of the American Left *(Garland Publishing) has just appeared.*

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partly because Ellen Schrecker could explicate the A.C.P.F.B.'s elusive status. Other semi-left institutions are interesting—as our authors describe the schools or cultural societies in the secular Yiddish milieu—in part because they attained an autonomy within the left after protracted and occasionally sharp internal struggles.

The question of left culture is fraught with many other questions. Artists often are, or at least claim to be, rebels of some kind. Relatively few attach themselves, however, to particular ideologies or political parties. Franklin Rosemont makes the point that modern dance was very left, in its early decades, because its participants were mostly rebellious, high-spirited young women, attracted along with the choreographers of the 1920s and 1930s to themes of liberatory promise. Although they evoked little sympathy and less understanding from the male-dominated and often heavy-handed political left, troupes like the Red Dancers and magazines like *New Dance* bridged the gap between radical idealism and dance culture until the cold war called a halt.

Likewise, in the history of sexual radicals—who have probably received more scholarly attention in the last decade than in the previous century—institutions, groups and individuals interacted with the left on forever shifting grounds. The concept of "free love" offers a microcosm. In the nineteenth-century sense of moral but not legal commitment, the idea stirred Yankee libertarian individualists as well as the type of immigrant anarchists who staged a Yiddish production of *A Doll's House* long before its American English-language production. By the 1910s, free love was more likely to mean experimentation. By the 1960s and 1970s feminists and gay liberationists had renewed the nineteenth-century critique, but had extended it to male authority in addition to bourgeois morality. Sometimes the personal is political, or perhaps only sometimes it looks that way.

Along the way, we discovered that some issues and not a few groups had a much fuller life on the left than anyone seems to have realized. Environmentalism offers a remarkable case. Militant ecology, for instance, dates back to a heroic early period. Best-selling novelist Edward Bellamy made the human reconciliation with nature, including animal rights, a central feature of his utopia. In the 1910s the foremost American socialist publisher offered readers radical trea-

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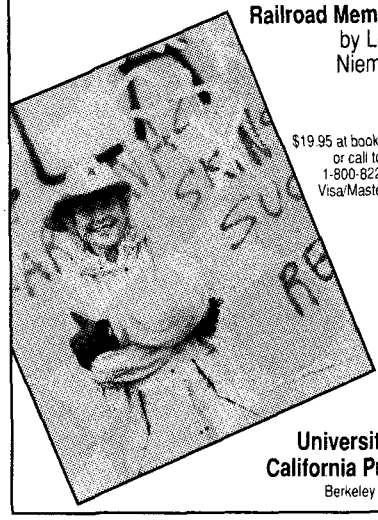

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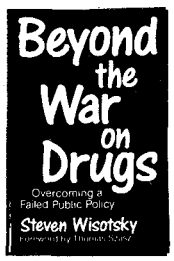

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tises redressing what we might now call "speciesism." Even the titles of *Germs of the Mind in Plants and Animals* and *Universal Kinship* are suggestively wild and wildly suggestive. Later, as Socialists and Communists expected (or fantasized) a postcapitalist industrial cornucopia, oddball militants founded the Wilderness Society, which dropped the Socialist label. Not until the 1960s, and then with considerable uneasiness, did the left begin to recoup what had been its issue in the beginning.

Or consider the investigations of Douglas Monroy, grandson of a leading Chicano Wobbly in early Los Angeles. No one has yet seen so clearly the history of attempted land repatriations, from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1970s, and the anarcho-syndicalist sentiment that made the Magón brothers legendary in their day. Or again, listen to Mario Garcia, the first scholar of the late 1930s and early 1940s Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples, whose story of accomplishment and repression defies stereotypes of the Chicano community as apolitical. Mexican-Americans had their own, albeit scarcely Communist, Popular Front, even though the numbers they added to left party memberships and voting totals were pretty inconsequential.

African-American radicalism is of course no new discovery, but even after all the good work of the past fifteen years, its depths have hardly been plumbed. Robin D.G. Kelley, young enough to have attended a Black Panther breakfast program in a Harlem grade school in the 1960s, rode Trailways buses into rural Alabama to track down the survivors of the 1930s Communist-led Share Croppers' Union. There he discovered lines of influence that radiated from Birmingham and the regional Communist press into many parts of the South, spreading subversive doctrines of racial equality and people's rule.

Kelley and a bevy of other writers on subjects ranging from people like Louise Thompson Patterson and Queen Mother Moore to journals like *The Crusader* and *Freedomways* demonstrate how far black radicalism has been from the stereotypes of the right (or the left) as being white-directed. Nationalism and radical interracialism have had their own distinct trajectories, in which Marxism was neither irrelevant nor by itself decisive.

It also turns out, in a very different sphere, that the professions have their own untold story. Peter Kuznick discovered, for instance, that more scientists were fired from colleges in the McCarthy period than any other category of intellectuals. Einstein himself was quite a socialist, a detail that should provoke some further historical rumination.

Health workers, for their part, have been engaged in radical movements since the late nineteenth century, especially in dealing with neighborhood issues and in agitating among their fellow professionals (*Progressive Dentist*, embodying "oral hygiene from the Socialist standpoint," remains an early monument). Their descendants of the 1960s and 1970s, according to activist-scholar Walter Lear, might be found in the Medical Committee for Human Rights, whose members were seen, for instance, in the streets of Chicago in 1968 bandaging demonstrators bloodied by police clubs. As Benjamin Harris points out, the forgotten Psychologist League of the 1930s, centered around Bellevue Hospital in New York City and with its tradition of marching on May Day with slogans like "Fascism Is the World's Worst Behavior Disorder" and "Don't Be Unconscious, Join Our Ranks," launched a considerable movement, lasting into the radical psychology movements of the present (my favorite is the Marxist-Leninist Skinnerians).

Laboring over the *Encyclopedia* has converted us, I'm afraid, into doyens of Red Trivia. Everybody knows about Clifford Odets, John Randolph and Ring Lardner Jr. (one of the contributors to the volume, incidentally). But what cinema horror star joined what distinguished composer in the Hungarian Democratic Federation? The two Belas, of course, Lugosi and Bartók. What radical wrote the musical lyrics for *The Wizard of Oz*? E.Y. (Yip) Harburg. What *New Masses* contributor urged mass singing as a necessity for the "day to day struggle of the proletariat," illustrating his point with the 1934 composition, "Into the Streets, May First!"? Would you believe Aaron Copland?

This is a tangent. Or is it? As David Marc points out, some of the most startling and lasting influences of the New Left or the related counterculture have been in popular culture. Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young instantly converted stirring moments into smash hits with "Chicago," "Ohio" and "Woodstock." By 1976 the miniseries *Roots* had codified the expression of antiracist values on commercial television. Popular films, to say nothing of the comics pages or the FM rock sta-

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tions, remain open to expression of bitter complaints at environmental devastation, sexism and right-wing politicians even when there's no visible left to drive the points home.

This hints at a deeper logic, more obvious by far in the final product than the editors could have anticipated. The New Left's evident impact on popular culture represents a hidden success story that has played out over the generations. Hardly an educated family at the turn of the century lacked a copy of Bellamy's *Looking Backward*; hardly an immigrant twenty years or so later had not seen Charlie Chaplin; and *M*A*S*H* (adapted from the film written by Ring Lardner Jr.) continues to be the most watched show in television history. Dozens or perhaps hundreds of such examples dot *The Encyclopedia of the American Left.*

Why American society should evoke a populistic, egalitarian, even utopian message while apparently marginalizing left politics remains a mystery, but one thing is clear—the history of the political left has always been, and is, larger than the history of left organizations. The *Encyclopedia*, I now think, consolidates that wisdom, and is a work-in-progress toward recovering yet a greater world of neglected experience. □

Two Diems for a Ho Chi Minh

NEIL DEMAUSE

"I was walking up my driveway one day, and there were a bunch of kids playing a war game in front of me," says Dino Frisella, president of Dart Flipcards. He is relating an often-told anecdote, one he says describes the moment that led him to create the first set of trading cards based on the Vietnam War. "They were talking about their rifles and pistols and M-16s—the type of rifle used in Vietnam—and one kid said, 'Wow, Vietnam was really cool.' "

"Well," he continues, "Vietnam was anything but cool." It was then, Frisella says, that he got the idea for "a set of cards with some basic facts, details, major events that took place, and just see if we could spur discussion." And so Vietnam Fact Cards were born.

The cards, 3 million of which hit the U.S. market last fall, represent a hybrid of two of the major pop culture obsessions of the late 1980s: Vietnam nostalgia and card collecting. The first—exemplified by *Platoon* and the flood of grunt's-eye-view movies that followed it—has by now become a full-fledged genre, spinning off not just movies but three TV shows (*China Beach*, *Tour of Duty* and HBO's *Vietnam War Stories*) and a comic book (*The Nam*). And the boom in card collecting has perhaps been to Reaganite entrepreneurship what Rambo was to Reaganite militarism, spawning a nearly $300-million-a-year industry based entirely on speculation. While most of the market is in sports cards (primarily baseball), "nonsports" issues have also flourished, and Dart's Vietnam cards are no exception. The 66-card set has sold briskly and is currently valued at over $20, nearly three times its initial price.

Frisella is quick to stress that he is not just out to make a quick buck on the war but rather to provide an educational card set that does not subscribe to the "gross-is-good" ethic he says has typified such cards as Topps's popular Garbage Pail Kids. It was to avoid such goriness, he says, that he and partner Stewart Sargent rejected the idea of using war photos for the card fronts. Instead, colored drawings depict battle scenes with stylized explosions, U.S. bombers winging across the sky, President Lyndon Johnson pinning a medal on a trio of servicemen. Frisella points to a card on punji pits as an example of the cards' "wholesomeness": "Rather than take the route that many other companies might take, which would've been to show someone screaming in pain with a punji stick through his foot, we just took a boot and put a stick through it."

The cards are not gory, it's true. To call them "wholesome," though, is open to debate, less because of the images on the card fronts than the captions on the reverse. From Card 1, with its dedication to "American and French soldiers and their allies who fought communism in the Vietnam War," the cards present a view of the war that would warm the heart of William Westmoreland. On Card 20, President Johnson is "required" to send more troops by "the escalation of communist infiltration." U.S. bombing strikes target "communist infiltration

Neil deMause is a writer living in Brooklyn.

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routes" (Card 21), "North Vietnamese oil facilities" (Card 24) and "military structures" (Card 59). No distinction is made between the South Vietnamese Vietcong and the North Vietnamese Vietminh; most often, both are subsumed under the epithets "invading forces" or simply "the enemy."

"In terms of factual presentation, I think it's very distorted," says David Cline, a national coordinator of Vietnam Veterans Against the War who has been active in the anti-war toy movement. "It doesn't tell you how the Gulf of Tonkin was a fraud. It doesn't have the Pentagon Papers. It doesn't present Vietnamese, where they're coming from; it doesn't even have a card on the Vietcong.

"And there's no talk at all about the cost to the Vietnamese people," he adds. "Fifty-eight thousand Americans died and almost 2 million Vietnamese. You would think [from the cards] no one died other than Americans. This is unbelievable."

Indeed, the Vietnamese people appear on a mere handful of cards. On "Brutal Captors" (Card 53), Northerners subject P.O.W.s to "merciless physical and psychological torture"; on "Black Market" (Card 34), Southerners peddle U.S. helicopters to the Commies. Vietnam's long colonial history vanishes, since the set takes up the story in 1945; Ho Chi Minh's card describes him merely as a nationalist who "spent 32 years in exile studying Marxism." In the entire set, only forty Vietnamese deaths are recorded: Buddhist monks killed by South Vietnamese Prime Minister Diem for protesting "religious discrimination."

Frisella, who says the historical information was drawn from a variety of sources, including a Time-Life history of the war, maintains that the cards are purely educational. "Our intention was just to come out with an entirely unbiased, unpolitical picture of Vietnam," he says. "The cards have no political leaning; there are no judgment calls anywhere. We just basically state the facts."

In the case of Agent Orange, this means granting it a card as a defoliant used to "deny the enemy his cover," but letting its deadly side effects go unmentioned. And the C.I.A.-directed Phoenix program, in which at least 20,000 Vietnamese were slaughtered under the guise of identifying Communist sympathizers, becomes on Card 42 "a secret American campaign . . . [to] flush out the Vietcong guerrillas and spies from the villages. Some 60,000 Vietcong agents were caught under the 'Phoenix' program." Other unpleasant subjects, such as the My Lai massacre, don't merit a card at all. Frisella defends the absence of My Lai in particular as a reasonable editorial decision. "It could've happened during any war."

One more element is largely missing from the cards' history of Vietnam: U.S. people of color. Although during the peak years of the war one-quarter of U.S. casualties were African-American, the cards are remarkably Eurocentric. Clean-cut white men dominate most scenes, with no more than one black on any card. (Frisella says that the racial demographics of the soldiers on the cards "never really entered our minds.")

All this, of course, should be familiar to anyone who has seen a Vietnam movie or TV show in the past five years. As long ago as 1979, when *Apocalypse Now*, Francis Ford Coppola's stridently epic Vietnamization of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, hit the screen, essayist June Jordan saw what was coming. "Remembering how that American war, with its long-term American atrocities, shook apart America and forever tore down the previous distinctions, in my mind, between *racism* and *imperialism*, I wanted to see this celluloid extravaganza," she wrote at the time; it was to her amazement, she said, that she discovered that " 'the horror' this film means you to grasp is not what America has done to the Vietnamese but rather what Vietnam has done to two white men!"

After a decade of not only *Apocalypse Now* but *Rambo*, our popular culture will be little changed by the sale of Vietnam trading cards—even 3 million of them—to collectors and veterans' groups for twenty-three bucks a set. (A second series is planned to "fill in the gaps," according to Frisella; he mentions such omis-

POSTHUMOUS ORPHEUS

He wandered through a patchwork of open fields
And abandoned farmhouses, singing, but the rocks
Wouldn't budge and the trees refused to bend,
Rooted deeply in the ground, stolid, ungiving.
He sang with a grief that would have moved the land
If the land were listening to anything but its own
Hard processes, and he mourned with a music
That would have lifted the hearts of animals
Grazing in the pastures, except there were no
Animals to be seen anywhere, just a few scrawny
Crows scrounging for food. He sang of lost
Unstoried realms, of vows eternally broken,
His bride turning to shadows in the underworld
Because of him, but he never understood
That his voice was drowned out by the wind
Blowing incessantly across the Great Plains,
And by the steady hum of telephone wires
Stretching into nowhere, and by the whoosh
Of stray trucks whizzing by on the highway.
Eurydice was gone and there were no Maenads
To envy or ambush him, no one even to send
His head floating down the stream with a lyre.
The riverbeds were as dry as the brown wheatfields,
And he was an alien amidst the pre-fab silos
And barbed-wire fences, the burnt grasses
Moving ceaselessly in place. No, for him
There was only the silence of a vacant sky
Deepening overhead, the glassy-eyed desolation
Of a flat, unforgiving landscape rolling on endlessly,
And the loneliness of a few scattered houses
Buried on the prairie. His seven priestly notes
Were lost in miles and miles of empty space,
And he mourned until he could mourn no longer—
A ghost of himself, of his own unheeded grief—
And then he gave up, defeated, and stopped singing.

Edward Hirsch

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sions as doctors, nurses and special forces.) If anything, Vietnam Fact Cards serve only to further Vietnam's position as just another pop culture icon, no more significant than baseball or Batman; and to help reclaim the meaning of "antiwar" as no more than "War is hell." □

BOOK NOTE.

FIRE AND GRACE: The Life of Rose Pastor Stokes. *By Arthur Zipser and Pearl Zipser. University of Georgia Press. 348 pp. $35.*

Unlike many of the "new" women with whom Rose Pastor Stokes campaigned for social reform in the early decades of this century, Stokes herself slid into obscurity after her death in 1933. Even in the past twenty years, when industrious quests into women's history have generated studies of many of her colleagues—Emma Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Anzia Yezierska, for example—Stokes has appeared only as a footnote. It is a curious oversight: For twenty-eight years, after her marriage to millionaire James Graham Phelps Stokes made headlines in 1905, Rose Pastor Stokes was a major player among political activists.

Stokes, according to most people who knew her, was a charming person—gentle, attractive, intelligent. She was also an ardent Socialist, so ardent in fact that, disillusioned with the indecisiveness of the Socialist Party before World War I and enraptured by the Russian Revolution, she became a Communist. She was single-minded and passionate in her commitment to reform, but not in her focus. She was as likely to contribute her views to a symposium on birth control as she was to join the strike committee of New York City hotel workers in 1912. After she married Graham Stokes and took his family's prestigious name, she was increasingly called upon to support any number of worthy causes. And she usually agreed.

For twenty-five years she delivered lectures, wrote articles and led demonstrations to inspire changes in housing, labor conditions, health care, birth control and women's suffrage. Her passions sometimes intruded into other relationships—with a few of her Stokes relatives, with some less fervent Socialists and finally with her husband. Her story, told here for the first time by Arthur and Pearl Zipser, not only gives us a portrait of a singular woman but, in detailing her marriage to Graham Stokes, allows us to see some of the contradictions that riddled and undermined the Socialist movement in this country.

Rose Pastor was a Polish immigrant, a Jew who had worked in a cigar factory in Cleveland in the 1890s and then, when she was 24, came to New York to try her luck as a journalist. The *Jewish Daily News* made her an advice columnist and allowed her to do some reporting. In 1903 they sent her to interview James Graham Phelps Stokes. The rest, of course, is an American Cinderella story. At least that is how the press saw it in 1905, when the couple married at St. Luke's Church in Noroton, Connecticut, where the Stokeses had one of their homes. Rose saw it, as she tended to see everything, in terms of social reform and class struggle. "I am going to be married to the millionaire Stokes," she told some friends. "Riches and poverty, Jew and Christian will be united. Here is an indication of the new era."

In their first years together, Rose and Graham managed to bridge the worlds that threatened to divide them. They lived in a six-room apartment east of the Bowery and tried to simplify their lives by eating canned foods and using paper napkins newly imported from Japan. Later, they moved from their modest flat to a Greenwich Village town house and spent vacations and summers at the Stokes family's Caritas Island off the coast of Connecticut, where they began a small colony of like-minded, well-bred Socialists. Friends, however, soon began to notice a strain in the marriage. Why, they wondered, did Rose and Graham not have children? "The trouble is," commented Horace Traubel, who often visited them, "they don't know how to go about it."

There were, in fact, other troubles that tore apart the Stokeses' spiritual kinship. Graham, who had served as Rose's guide and mentor, quickly saw himself supplanted by many others in the movement. He began to take offense at Rose's friends and colleagues. As strongly as he resisted the unjust system that burdened him with wealth, still he resented Rose's criticisms of America. Rose's relationship with Graham, and with the Socialist Party, did not survive America's entry into World War I. Graham supported President Wilson; Rose decried his policies and found

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herself charged with espionage. Graham's uncle, William Stokes, energetically informed against her. Her conviction, and the Stokes family's efforts to save her from a jail sentence, estranged her from Graham and many of his relatives. Finally, in 1925, Rose left.

The next eight years were filled with struggles: personal struggles against poverty and breast cancer; political struggles in a world again plummeting into war. In 1927 she married Jerome Isaac Romain, a 29-year-old Russian-Polish immigrant who became a well-known activist in the Communist Party under the name of V.J. Jerome. Romain was nothing like Graham (who by then had directed his energies away from politics and into the study of comparative religions), and Rose apparently adored him. But when she died in a German hospital, she died alone.

Amassing testimony about a life is different from shaping a narrative, and this biography has none of the feisty spirit that characterized its subject. The Zipsers, themselves veterans of the Socialist movement, seem more comfortable detailing public events than questioning private motives and responses. They do not trust their intuition to speculate about Stokes, preferring to make statements they can document. Even their title, *Fire and Grace*, comes from someone else's assessment of Rose.

Their sources are fascinating—including manuscripts of Rose's unpublished autobiography and interviews with some of her colleagues—but the Zipsers are timid about drawing inferences from those sources. Instead, they have flattened Rose's life into an annotated chronology: We watch the Zipsers read a letter, summarize its contents and then turn to the next letter. We find out what happened on May 19, June 16 and June 22, but the Zipsers rarely transcend their documentary to tell us what all these dates and events meant to Rose, and what they might mean to us. Still, their diligent research revives for us the context of social reform in the first decades of the century and locates Stokes within it. They have, despite some shortcomings, rescued the memory of a life worth saving.

LINDA SIMON

Linda Simon, the director of the Writing Center at Harvard University, is the author of several biographies.

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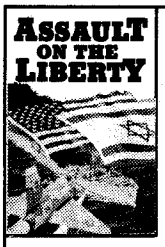

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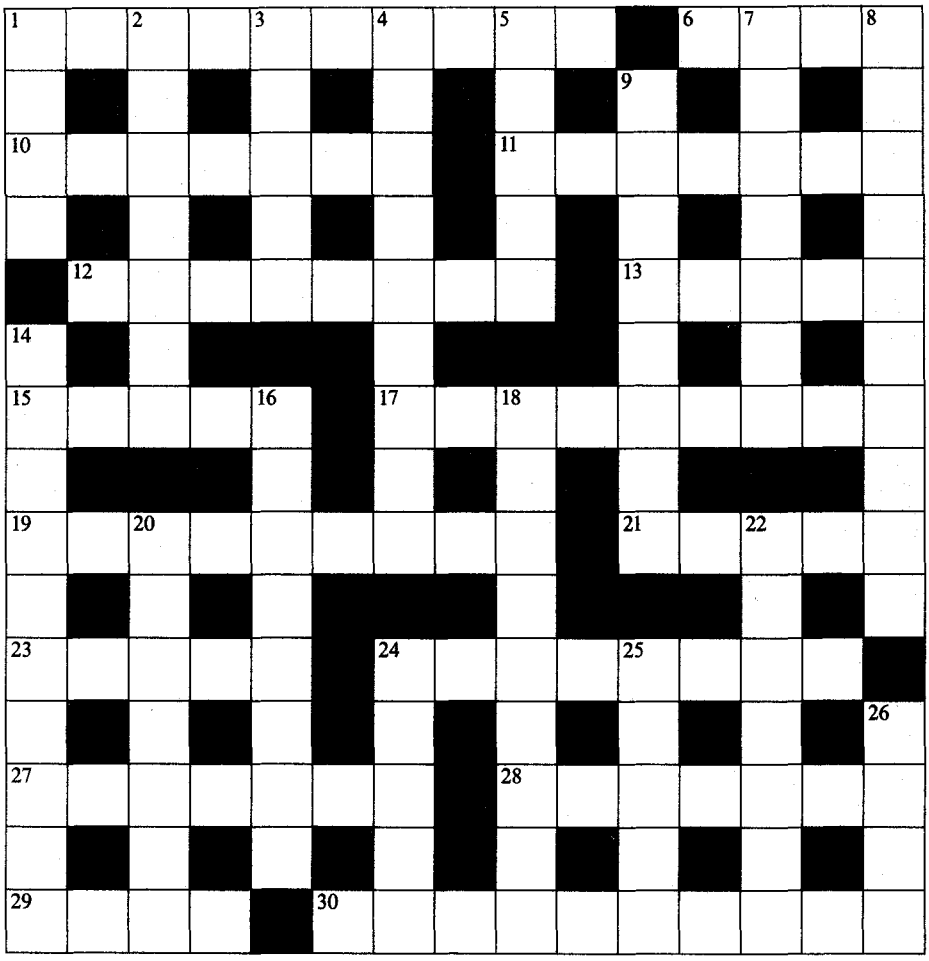

ACROSS

10, 1 and 6 The Monarch of the Tavern doesn't rise to the proper growth, making a big mistake. (7,2,3,5,4)
11 Vegetable material dried and smoked. (7)
12 Its dates might be in the wrong order, showing repugnance. (8)
13 You can get a little firm about the color represented, as I believe. (5)
15 Cockney garden borders on the verge of these. (5)
17 A retrousse nose gets rated about "amplified" when it comes to sound. (9)
19 Sort of deaf around that place, which is like a propeller when you stop the engine. (9)
21 Women with revolutionary ancestors surround Mr. White to hinder something. (5)
23 A number on one down should be very quiet, having nothing on, but it's an unusual flyer for Disney. (5)
24 Possibly developed by J. Miller, with funny leaves? (8)
27 Presidents might aspire to more than this single appellation. (3,4)
28 His solutions are screened by a mountain pass on 1 down. (7)
29 Sounds like a good view at such a location. (4)
30 One's run is never uphill. (10)

DOWN

1 The boss of the defensive equipment is like an elephant that has lost its head! (4)
2 This might occur before one gets 19. (7)
3 One might be put out if they do it to you. (5)
4 The office of the university has the heart of the matter right in the rear. (9)
5 In a panic, here's where to look for a hole-in-the-wall. (5)
7 Most suggestive, one who looks down on certain people has a point. (7)
8 Adds a bit to the story, when the fashion designer rises among the smoldering ashes. (10)
9 Might be a spinner, and a rich producer, too. (8)
14 Being faithless, gets fired, in a way, although in sanctimonious surroundings. (10)
16 One that holds one's beer isn't the type to stay afloat! (8)
18 Not blows of the foot on your front or back, coming from friends! (9)
20 Drape one of the limbs here, and give weapons to the remainder. (7)
22 Gave out flowers, seeing what a cow might do coming up having lost some vital fluid around it. (7)
24 On the first of January, 1 down could have been an asset to Barnum. (5)
25 This battle came during the Christmas holidays—though some fight it because of too many Christmas goodies. (5)
26 Back room associated with Venice by the Bard. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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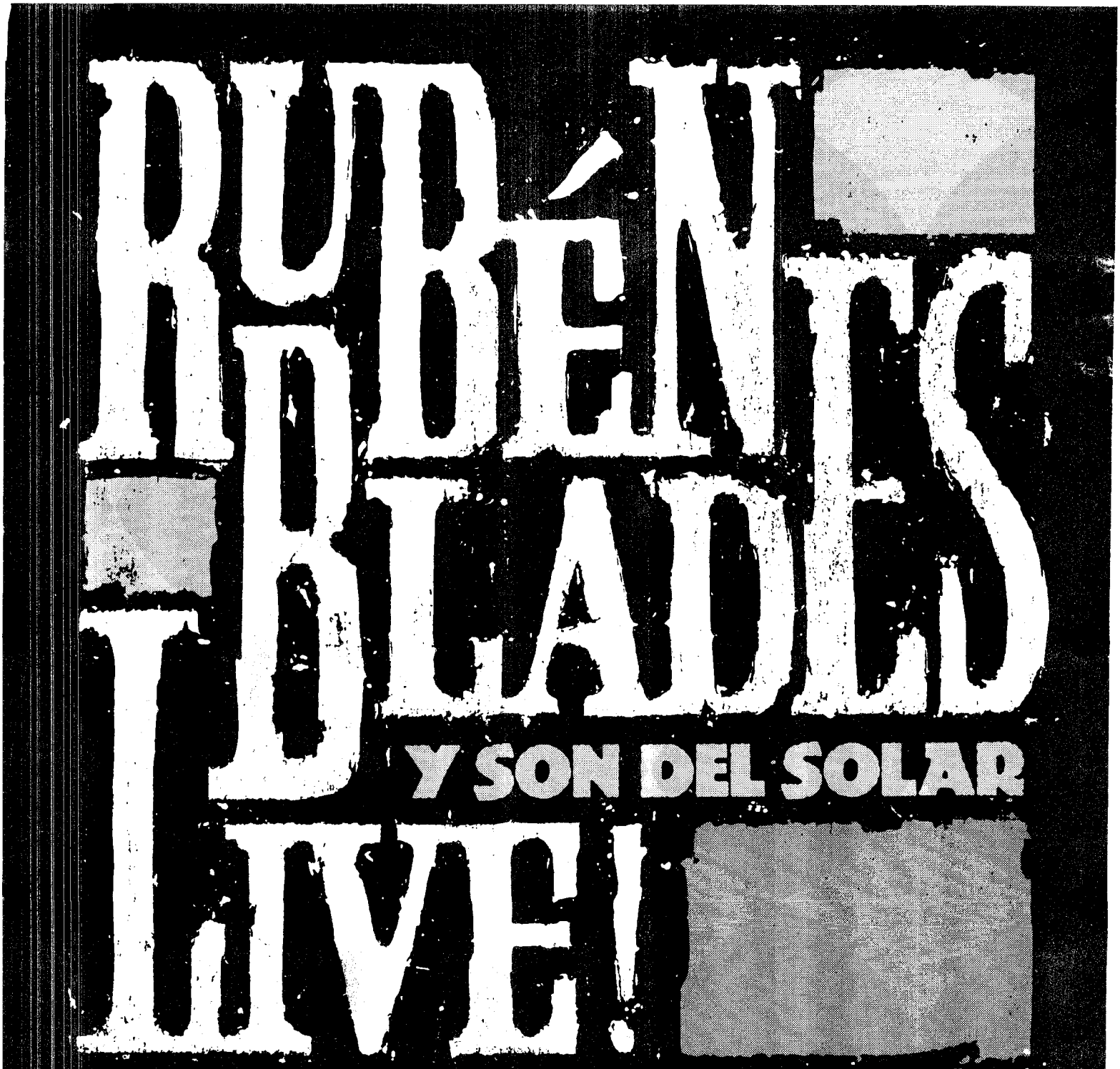

Rubén Blades' salsa is a call to dance and a call to social action. His pioneering mixture of poetry, politics and Latin American music has brought him international acclaim.

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